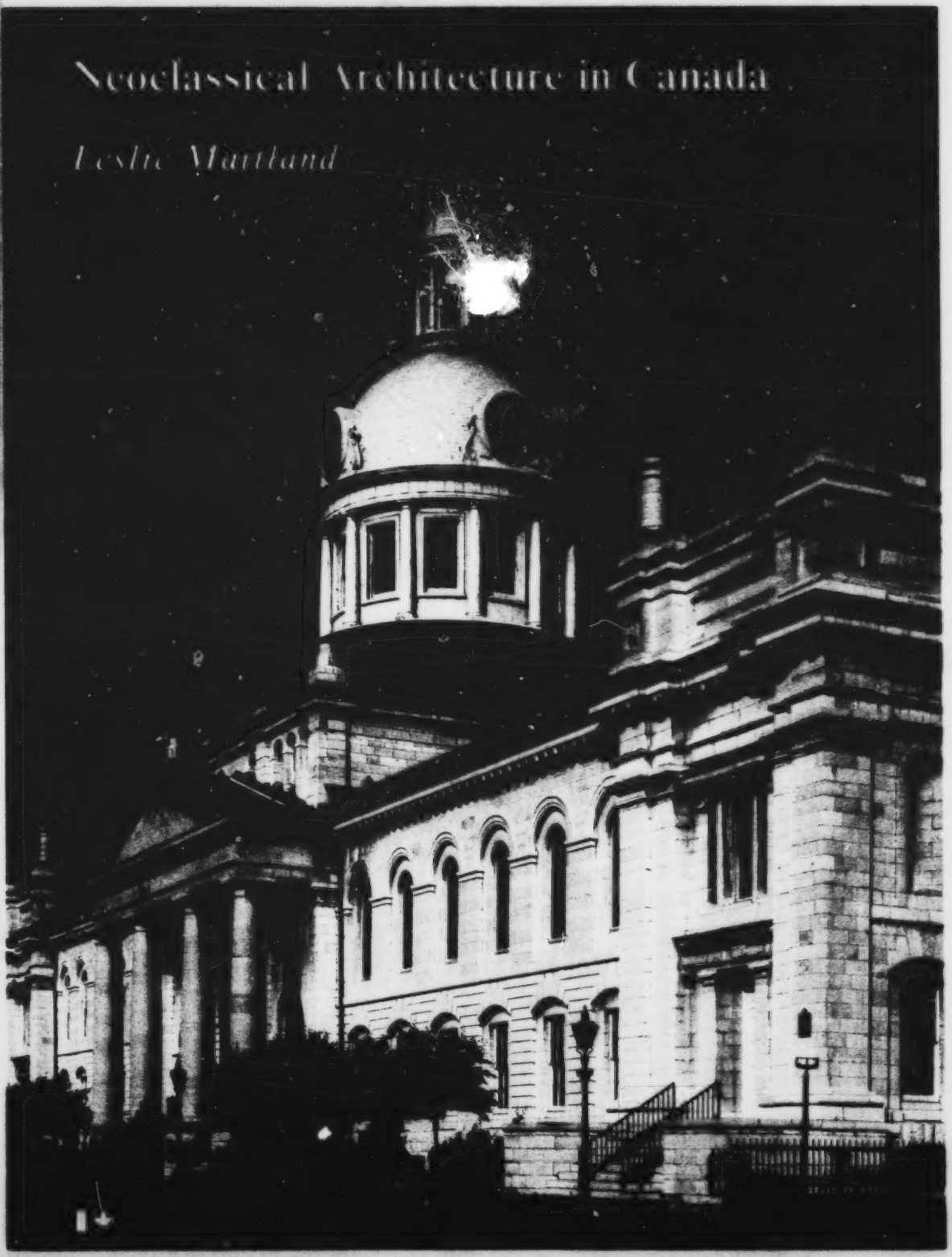
Neoclassical Architecture in Canada

Leslie Maitland



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Cover: Kingston City Hall, Kingston, Ontario. (Photo by Jean-Pierre Jérôme, Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

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ABSTRACT

The Neoclassical style was an international movement of British, American and French origins that pursued new ideas in architecture through the study of ancient Greek and Roman ruins, and through the application of a new rationalism to the questions of design. In Canada the style enjoyed great popularity from the 1820s to the 1850s. The style adapted decorative details, plans and elevations derived from ancient Grecian and Roman buildings to modern building. The facades of Neoclassical buildings had an underlying geometrical composition, and the wall surfaces were treated with a flat linearism. Blind arcades, fanlights, stringcourses, antique orders, pilaster orders, and channelled masonry were used in a manner that achieved this new, highly rational style of architecture. The principal Canadian examples of the style are the public buildings of the era, although the style touched aspects of domestic and religious architecture as well. A taste for historical accuracy and a love of lucid design survived from Neoclassicism, and these were the legacies of the style to Canadian architecture.

Submitted for publication in 1982 by Leslie Maitland, Canadian Inventory of Historic Building, Parks Canada, Ottawa.

PREFACE

This study was initiated with several objectives. The principal purpose was to aid the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to fulfill its mandate to commemorate sites of national historic and architectural importance, by examining one aspect of Canadian architecture, namely the Neoclassical style. Additionally, we wished to provide a work useful to a more general audience, for it is in response to the heightened interest in architecture that the Historic Sites and Monuments Board has emphasized buildings recently. This report was also meant to be of service to the professors, architects, advisory boards, planners, researchers, and to the many other people working in the field of Canadian architecture. We hope it will provide the academic community with new and useful information to supplement the excellent work being done by them, as they strive towards a greater understanding of our architectural legacy.

The Canadian Inventory of Historic Building has been one of the primary tools for this study. Begun in 1970, the Inventory was established to record by photographs and by computer-coded descriptions those buildings constructed before 1880 in eastern Canada, and before 1914 in the West. Since that time, the programme has been updated to include pre-1914 buildings across the country; to date, about 189,000 structures have been recorded. The Inventory was used for this study - and in conjunction with two other studies dealing with the Palladian style and the Picturesque Movement - to recall classical buildings of the early nineteenth century. This was done by asking the computer for characteristic features of classicism such as the column and the pediment. These general criteria drew out many buildings from the Inventory from which several were selected for the Neoclassical study.

One of the advantages of the Inventory is that it includes many modest structures, the so-called "vernacular" versions of a style that do not make their way into archival photo collections, or publications, but are important because they represent the general level of acceptance that a style enjoyed. Only a few of the vast number of these more modest structures are shown here.

As well, the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building has accumulated documentation on individual buildings, architects and builders, which was invaluable in the pursuit of this project. The dossiers on building histories and the biographies make the Inventory one of the best single sources of information on the history of Canadian architecture.

Research was also done into the photograph, map, print, drawing and manuscript collections of Public Archives Canada, the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, the Metropolitan Toronto Library, the Canadiana Division of the Royal Ontario Museum, the United Church Archives, the Archives of Ontario, McGill University Archives, the Archives nationales du Québec in Quebec City and in Montreal, the McCord Museum, the Archives civiles de Québec, the Archives du séminaire de Québec, the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, the New Brunswick Museum, the ministère des Affaires culturelles, and the Nova Scotia Museum. Here were uncovered illustrations and documentation concerning buildings that had disappeared before the Inventory was established.

The choice of illustrations has been a difficult one. There are so many more examples of Neoclassicism in Canada than are shown here. For certain examples there was no question of their inclusion: any study of a style will necessarily focus on certain outstanding examples that set trends, or best exemplify certain aspects of the style. Other buildings were chosen because they have not previously been published. Still others were chosen because they have disappeared, and it is important to know what survives, compared to the numbers that are lost, for of the several hundred examples I found, the majority are now gone. By making the importance of the surviving structures generally known, we hope to stem the tide of destruction.

This study is one of several architectural studies produced by the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building in recent years. Two others are Christina Cameron and Janet Wright's *Second Empire Style in Canadian Architecture* (Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1980) and Mathilde Brosseau's *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture* (Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1980). Not

yet published are Nathalie Clerk's "Le style palladien dans l'architecture au Canada," and Janet Wright's "Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada: Villas and Cottages Suitable for Persons of Genteel Life and Moderate Fortune." Studies are also planned on the Queen Anne Revival and the *Beaux-Arts*.

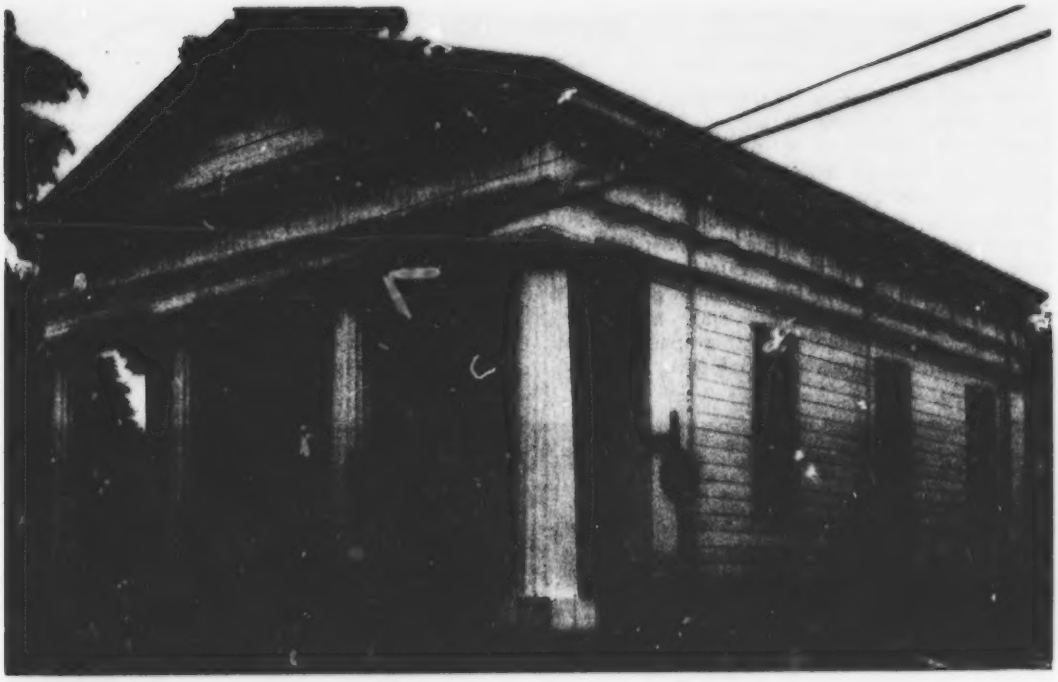
I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Marion W. Garland, Port Hope; Mrs. D.J. McIntosh, Stanbridge East; Shane O'Dea, St. John's; Marilynn Soules, Hamilton; Mary M. Tilley, Toronto; Patricia Townsend, Wolfville; and especially my supervisor and colleagues at the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building, Christina Cameron, Nathalie Clerk, Mary Cullen and Janet Wright. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

INTRODUCTION

Neoclassicism drew its inspiration from the architectural remains of ancient Greece and Rome, and from theories in design current in eighteenth century Europe. In Canada, Neoclassicism was popular from the 1820s until about 1860. (Neoclassical buildings are found only in eastern Canada, since the West had not been developed before the style ended). Neoclassicism had a major impact upon public and commercial architecture, and a lesser, although still significant impact upon commercial, religious and domestic building. Within each of these groups of buildings, two major sources of influence appear: the majority of buildings were influenced by various schools of British Neoclassicism; a smaller number represents the influence of American architecture upon the Canadian.

To understand the fundamentals of design of Neoclassicism in Canada, let us examine two principal examples of the style, the Kingston City Hall in Kingston, Ontario, and the Queens County Court House, in Liverpool, Nova Scotia (Figs 1 and 2).

1. City Hall, Ontario Street, Kingston, Ontario
Constructed 1843-44; **Architect** George Browne; **Material** stone. Kingston City Hall is the outstanding monument of Canada's conservative Neoclassicism. It was built in the early 1840s, a period of great prosperity for Kingston, when the city served as the temporary capital of the United Canadas. Proposals were put forward first in 1841 for a city hall to be of a scale in keeping with the status of a capital city, but it was not until 1843 that George Browne won the competition from among many contestants. He erected this magnificent building along the shoreline in the centre of the public square, making it visually the dominant building of the city. In its day, Kingston City Hall housed most of the municipal offices of the city, including the city market in a wing behind; it was therefore functionally, as well as architecturally, the focus of the city. Although the building has suffered from neglect and fire in past years, it is now restored and serving as the city hall for Kingston. (Leslie Maitland)



2. Queens County Court House, 141 Church Street, Liverpool, Nova Scotia
Constructed 1854 by George W. Boehner; **Architect** William G. Hammond; **Material** wood. The Queens County Court House in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, is probably the finest of the Greek Revival temple-type buildings surviving in the Maritimes and certainly one of the finest ever erected in Canada. The baseless Greek Doric order is superbly executed, with a slight exaggeration in the thickness of the columns and the width of the entablature beloved by the Greek Revivalists. The wooden walls were scored to imitate stone. The temple form was easily adapted to wood, lending great dignity and presence to small buildings. Generally, however, Maritime court houses followed a different model, the Charlotte County Court House (Fig. 40); the Queens County Court House is the only Maritime temple-plan court house. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

Kingston City Hall represents the apex of Canadian Neoclassicism of British origins. The inspiration from antiquity is illustrated in the Roman Tuscan columns of the centre-piece; indeed, the building was described at the time of its completion as being in the "Roman Style of Architecture."[1] The "Roman-ness" of the building is in the order of columns, the arched window openings based upon the Roman arch, and the round dome derived from the round buildings of Roman architecture. These details are appended to a building that is thoroughly *au courant* design. The portico is a dominant centre-piece echoed by projecting end pavilions, and the whole length of the building is tied together by a stong cornice line at the top. The ground floor is a low channelled masonry base that supports a second storey of very smooth masonry. A system of blind arcade mouldings around the

windows, the channelling of the masonry on the lower storey, wide plain pilasters on the end pavilions, the panelling in the parapets over the end pavilions, and the stringcourses between the storeys give the wall surface a linear quality, as though it were built up of very thin layers superimposed one upon another.

The design of the exterior tells us something of the design of the interior. The rusticated ground floor, or rustic as it was called, was meant to convey the idea of a base, a foundation storey, which contained the less important rooms of the building. The higher and more elaborately carved windows of the upper floor suggest that it is here one would find the principal rooms. So it is in the city hall: the lower floor contains offices, and the upper floor the large assembly halls. And the curving end walls of the pavilions indicate that the ends of the assembly rooms must be curved also. The architect has established a rational unity of interior layout with exterior design.

A different but related type of Canada's Neoclassicism is typified by the Queens County Court House. Like the Kingston building, the order of columns and the entablature are drawn from ancient sources, in this case the Greek Doric order. But unlike the Kingston building, the plan and elevation as well as the order of the building are based upon an antique prototype, as comparison with the Parthenon in Athens (Fig. 3) illustrates. The court house has the same neat, self-contained rectangular form as an antique temple, and it is similarly sited with its principal entrance on the short gable end of the building. The gable end has been decorated like an ancient temple with a pediment, a wide

3. The Parthenon, Athens, Greece
Constructed 448-432 B.C.; **Architects** Ictinus and Callicrates; **Material** stone. This is the most famous ancient Grecian temple; also influential to Neoclassicism were the Erechtheum, the temples on the Illisus near Athens, and those at the Grecian colony of Paestum in Italy. The Parthenon, despite its damaged condition, had an overwhelming impact on Neoclassicists who were impressed by the simplicity of the composition, the beauty of the baseless Doric order, and the breathtaking setting, all features emulated in Neoclassical architecture. (Alinari)

Doric entablature, and a Greek Doric order. Although this building is relatively small, and its construction is wood rather than the ponderous stone of its progenitor, its arrangement and decorative schema make it impressive, weighty, and again, monumental. The simple box form of the exterior suggests a simple rectangular room - the courtroom inside.

Superficially then, these two buildings seem radically different from each other because of their differences in scale, in uses of material, in planning and elevation. But closer examination shows that in fact they are similar in their use of antique precedent to suggest the antiquity of our institutions and their lucid, rational designs. They share similar roots in international Neoclassicism.

"Neoclassicism" is a modern term. When the buildings we are to discuss were erected, stylistic terminology was imprecisely descriptive, rather than categorical, and phrases such as "in the Greek style," "in the Attic style," or "after the ancient manner" were loosely used to describe the decorative details that adorned a particular building. They were not exact labels that classified buildings for their plans and elevations as well as their decorative details, which is our modern usage of stylistic terms.

The word "Neoclassicism" was coined in the early twentieth century to label the style, and its use was quickly picked up by French (*le néo-classique*), British and American writers. The first modern writer to search for a name for the style was A.E. Richardson in his work *Monumental Classical Architecture in Great Britain and Ireland during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (1914).[2] He chose the words "Neo-Classical" to characterize the style, and he recognized the importance of antiquity and the study of Rationalism in the development of the style. Other authors saw only the influence of the past, and therefore used phrases such as "Classic Revival," "Roman Revival," and "Greek Revival" to describe the style, or phases of the style; however, they imply the style was merely a revival of the past with no ideas of its own, which is not accurate. Only the phrase "Greek Revival" had some understandable independence, for of the several aspects of Neoclassicism it alone attempted a more literal revival of antiquity. Here the phrase "Greek Revival" is used to label a subgroup of Neoclassicism.

To include all of the elements of the style, not just its antique sources, the term "Neoclassicism" was invented. The word makes clear that the style was more than a revival of classicism; it was in fact a new classicism with its own new ideas. Neoclassicism has become the accepted label for the style by European and American authors,[3] and it suits the Canadian buildings of the style as well.

NEOCLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE: THE THEORY AND THE PRACTICE

From the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, a common cultural wave swept over western Europe and North America. Neoclassicism was a pan-cultural, pan-national current, growing out of a new examination of the past, and of the natural world. It produced trends in thought and fashion that were to affect all of the arts, literature, dress, manners, decorative arts, and of course the architecture, of Western society. Neoclassicism began as a rational, eighteenth century analysis of history and nature seeking the underlying universal laws pointing the way towards a harmonious existence for mankind. Despite its original intentions, Neoclassicism ended in the Romantic particularism of the Victorian era.

Neoclassicism marks the beginning of the historical revival styles that were to dominate nineteenth century architecture. Previously, history and art history were perceived as growing directly from the rebirth of classically based Western society during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Renaissance, as this period was called, was considered the rebirth of antiquity and the beginning of the modern era, with contemporary eighteenth century society as the most recent point along this continuous line. Each generation perceived itself as based upon, but essentially akin to, the preceding generation. But in the late eighteenth century, travel to ancient Greek and Roman sites, and an archaeological examination of these sites showed the ancient cultures of the Mediterranean to be radically different from each other, from the Renaissance, and again from modern times. From this thinkers deduced that history and art were not in continuous flow, but instead had a series of distinct periods, each with its own motivations, beginnings, developments and endings. Each historical period had a historical architectural style unique to it.

This rational approach to the study of history was a methodology borrowed from new developments in the study of nature, in which scientific processes were being applied for the first time in an effort to understand the laws of the natural world, and man's place in it. As each scientific law became known it was seen to have an appropriateness, a fundamental rightness, about it. When these ideas of fundamental goodness were compared to human nature, some thinkers conjectured that if mankind were stripped bare of the corruption of civilization, he would be shown to exist in a state of natural goodness and innocence, in harmony with nature: he was, in his elemental core, a Noble Savage.

Historicism and rationalism converge at this point, for they both focussed on the ancient cultures and architecture of the Mediterranean which, having been less advanced, less civilized than modern civilization, were considered to be closer to the primitive ideal. As Robert Adam, one of the principal architects of the Neoclassical style stated:

> The buildings of the Ancients are in Architecture, what the works of Nature are with respect to the other Arts; they serve as models which we should imitate, and as standards by which we ought to judge.[1]

In all things political, social, cultural, and of course architectural, the ancient Greek and Roman prototypes were sought out and emulated as patterns of perfection. In short, a new sense of history allowed architects to consciously choose their architectural style, and a sense of elemental, reductionist rationalism held out the possibility of making this style the perfect one.

Classical Architecture

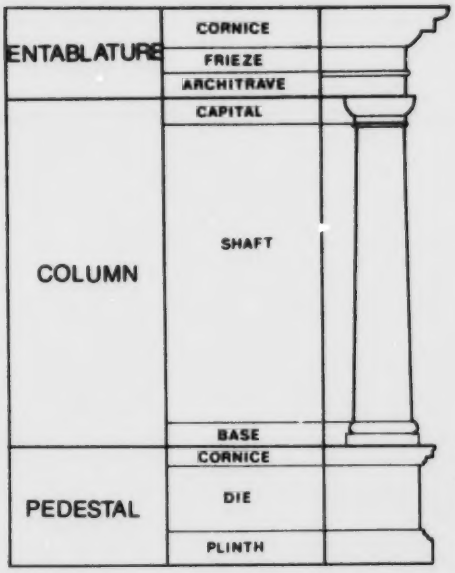
Before turning to the Neoclassical architecture that is the subject of this study, we must first describe the nature of classical architecture from which Neoclassicism is derived. Classical architecture is that body of symmetrically disposed buildings that bases its system of construction on post and lintel support in conjunction with wall construction. The post, or column, is the supporting element and the lintel, or entablature, is the supported

element. The column and entablature in combination are called an order (Fig. 4). An order can be used in several ways: as an active support independent of the wall; as an attached column, half-column, or as a pilaster supporting in concert with the wall. In cases where a wall is used as the true structural support, an order can be used as a decoration simply suggesting the principle of support for the otherwise homogenous mass of wall.

Although used by many ancient cultures, it was the Greeks and the Romans who developed the post and lintel system in the form that was to become the basis for Western architecture. The fifth century B.C. temple (Fig. 3) was in European eyes the apex of the Grecian achievement. Here the orders support the roof of the temple and provide a protective colonnade around the sanctuary. Decoration is confined to the base and capitals of columns and in the entablatures, to smooth the transition between the juncture of elements. Hellenic architecture is characteristically chaste, restrained, understated (Figs 3, 5 and 6).

The Romans elaborated the Grecian system by uniting it with two important technical innovations: mortar and the arch. Mortar and the arch (with the arch's cousin the dome) allowed the Romans to introduce a rich variety of room shapes, leading to complex designs for major buildings such as sports arenas, triumphal arches, aqueducts, baths and palaces (Figs 7-10). The combination of arch construction with cement allowed a tremendous freedom in construction that emphasized wall support over post and lintel support, so that orders became structurally superfluous. The Romans often used the orders as decorative additions to arched construction, applied as expressions of support, thus creating an important distinction between real and apparent support (Fig.10). Roman architecture is rich, colourful, various and supercharged.

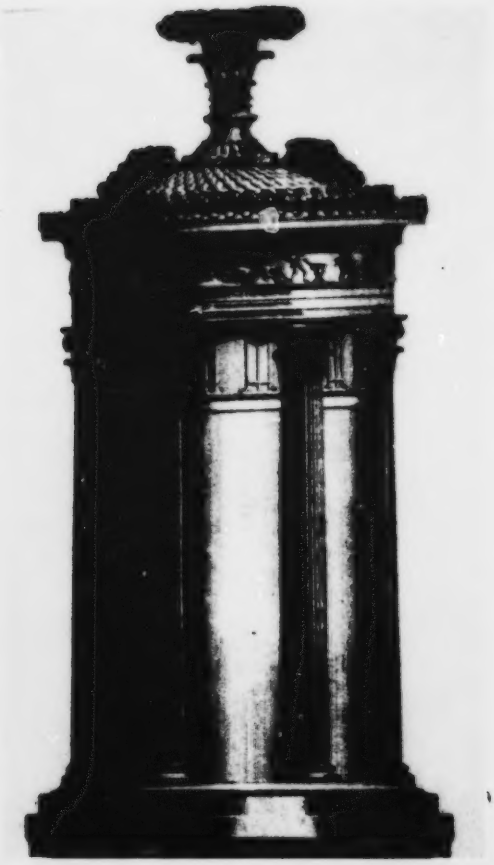
For nearly eight centuries Romanesque and Gothic architecture reigned, during which time the actual monuments of ancient Greece and Rome were lost to the sensibilities of European man. Antique cultures survived only in the European imagination, where time transformed them into visions of lost greatness. But in the fourteenth century, Italy reawoke to the ancient city of Rome that had



4. The Orders and Their Parts

The basic component of classical architecture is the order consisting of a pedestal, column and entablature. The optional pedestal consists of a plinth, a die and a cornice for the die. The column itself usually has a base; it has a shaft, capped by a capital, decorated in a variety of ways (Fig. 23). The column in turn supports the entablature which subdivides into architrave, frieze and cornice. The entablature carries the roof. Sometimes decorative carving adorns the frieze, although Neoclassicists usually left it bare. The cornice serves also as the eaves of the roof and projects beyond the lower parts of the order so that dripping rainwater will fall free of the building. This simple system was the basis for all classical Western architecture. (Adapted from Joseph Gwilt, *Rudiments of Architecture, Practical and Theoretical*, London: Priestley and Weale, 1826, plate 1; graphics by Wayne Duford, Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

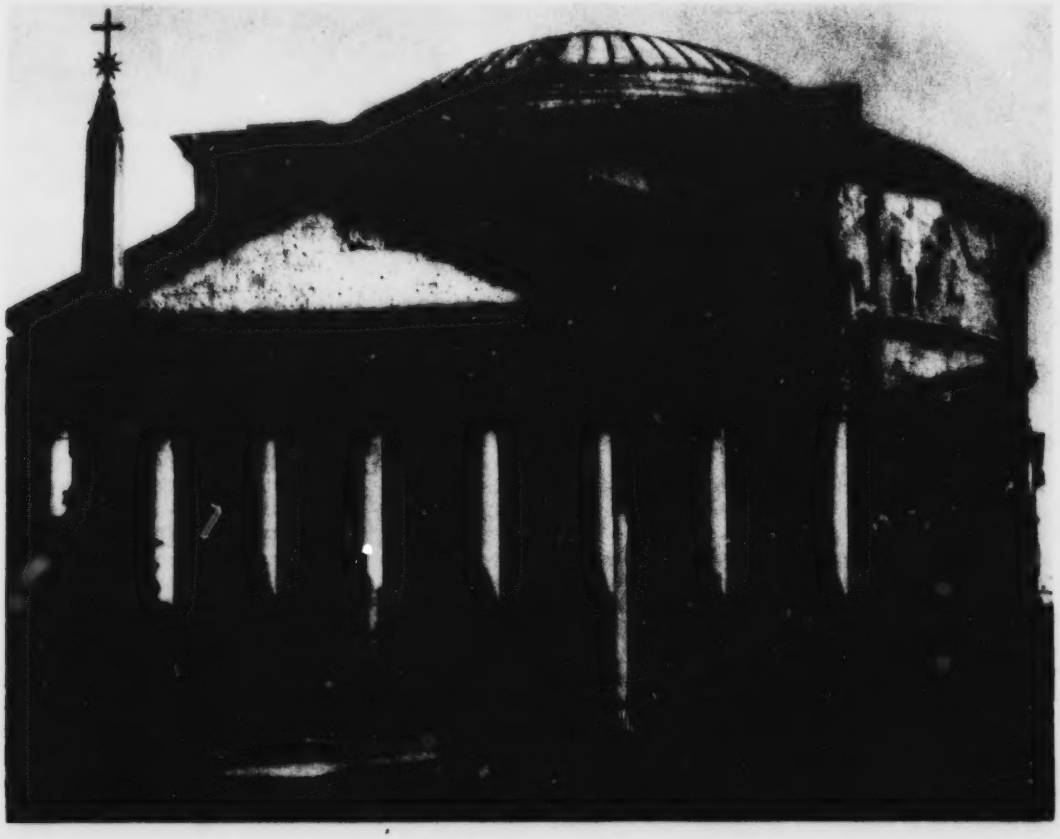
5. The Tower of the Winds, Athens, Greece
Constructed ca. 40 A.D.; **Material** stone. Only a few ancient buildings had circular or polygonal plans, and these were emulated by the Neoclassicists when they sought solutions to the problems of the circular structure. The multi-sided Tower of the Winds appears in truncated form as a stage in the church spire, often with paired columns or pilasters at the angles. The Temple of Vesta in Rome, the circular temple at the Villa Hadrian in Tivoli, and the Temple of Venus in Baalbec, Lebanon, were the other important circular structures of antiquity. (James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. 1, London: James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, 1762, Chap. 3, plate 3)



6. The Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, Athens, Greece
Constructed late fourth century B.C.; **Material** stone. As well as the Tower of the Winds, Neoclassicists often referred to the Monument of Lysicrates when the model of a round structure was desired. Its columned cylindrical form is recognizable in many church spires of the early nineteenth century. A circular or polygonal structure surrounded by columns was often used as the base of a dome or a cupola, or as a garden feature, such as the Music Room (1805) of the Duke of Kent's estate in Halifax. At other times versions of the monument were the bases for commemorative monuments. (James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, op. cit., Chap. 4, plate 3)

survived in the midst of the medieval one, and classical architecture of the Roman variety returned as the basic language of building. First Italy, then France, Great Britain, and the rest of Europe rebuilt their cities with buildings of classical inspiration. The Renaissance was a rediscovery of classical principles of design which led to the construction of buildings that were in the spirit of the ancient Roman style.

Subsequent to the Renaissance there appeared schools of architecture that although still using columns, arches, and the rest of the classical mode rethought classicism, played with its forms and varied them almost beyond recognition of their source. Mannerist, Baroque and Rococo architecture were rich, playful, tortuous, illogical, powerfully inventive, and totally at odds with the chaste tastes of the eighteenth century rational mind.



7. Pantheon, Rome, Italy
Constructed 118-125 A.D.; **Material** stone and brick. The first true dome built in Europe was that erected over the Pantheon in Rome. From the outside the dome is quite shallow and discreet; one notices instead the entrance, composed of a row of columns surmounted by a pediment, which together is called a portico. The combination of a portico surmounted by a dome was a model used repeatedly by the Neoclassicists. (Alinari)

8. Arch of Constantine, Rome, Italy

Constructed 312-315 A.D.; **Material** stone. The conquering armies of Rome returned to the capital through gates such as this one, erected to commemorate military victories and to serve as city gates. The triumphal arch of one or three openings decorated the gateways of walled cities right into the nineteenth century, and they appeared in Canada in the walls of Quebec City and in the walls of military fortifications. Nineteenth century gates were ornamented with columns, pilasters, channelled masonry, and other architectural devices, rather than the sculptured bas *reliefs* on the Arch of Constantine. (Hartill Art Associates)

The Theory: Antiquity

In the late eighteenth century it was felt that the basic principles of architectural design would be found in the classical architecture of ancient Greece and Rome. Yet decades of travel and exploration by the English, the French and the Germans were to pass before the antique world was fully rediscovered. The remoter parts of Italy were not well known to northern Europeans, and Greece was completely unknown. Travel in the

eighteenth century to exotic places - and Rome was considered remote and exotic - began as trips by the well-to-do youths of the upper classes as a finishing touch to their education. These young men brought with them artists to record the curiosities and scenes of distant places, and these drawings later served as remembrances, or "souvenirs" of their travels. They also collected busts, statuary, coins, vases and bronzes with which to adorn their homes upon their return, homes that naturally had to be of the correct style to house these souvenirs of antiquity.

Many gentlemen saw antiquity as a source of new architecture, and during their travels they set to draw and record it carefully for reference when they had returned home. The earliest series of drawings were on Roman architecture. Among the first to record what he had found was the collector the Comte de Caylus, in his book *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines* (1752). This book was followed by Robert Wood's *Ruins of Palmyra* (1753) and *Ruins of Baalbec* (1757). Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764) brought Roman domestic architecture to European attention. The ready accessibility of Roman buildings, their similarity to current architectural tastes in Europe, and the love of Roman architecture held by the pioneers of Neoclassicism account for the heavy Roman flavour in the early stages of the style.

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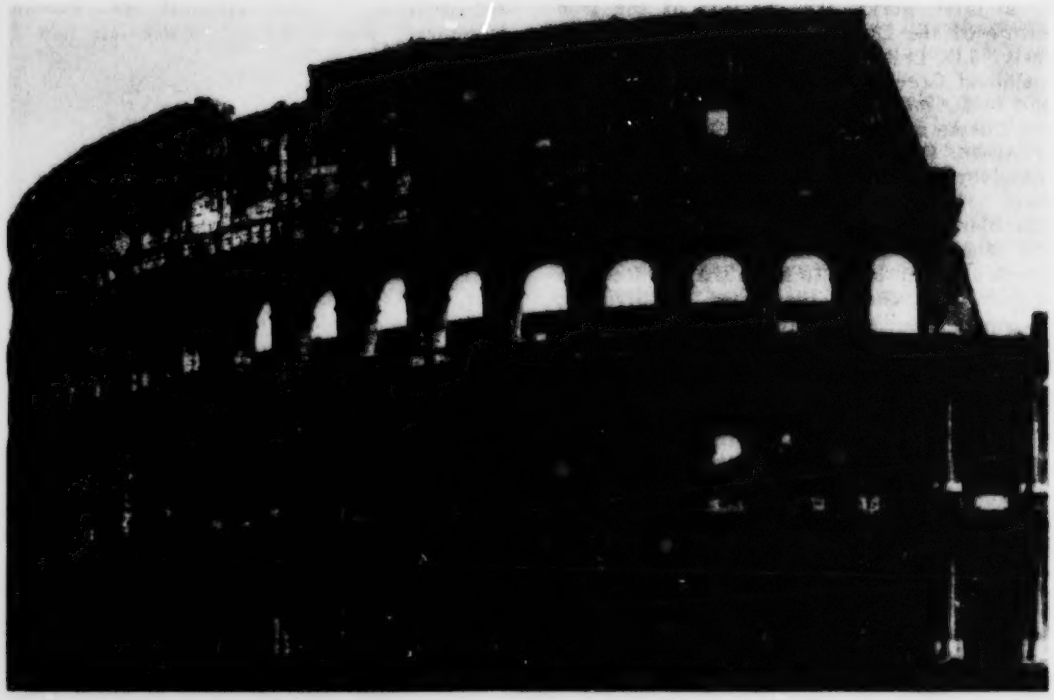
9. Trajan's Column, Rome, Italy

Constructed 180-193 A.D.; **Material** stone. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, architects returned to antique sources for models of commemorative monuments. The Egyptian obelisk and the Roman free-standing column were the most popular forms, Trajan's column being the most famous of the latter type. A cubic base supports a round column which in turn supports a statue of the person honoured (here a statue of a Christian saint has replaced the statue of the emperor Trajan). Spiralling low relief sculptures chronicle Trajan's victories, but Neoclassical commemorative columns were more typically one of the five orders of architecture (Fig. 23). (Alinari)



10. Colosseum, Rome, Italy

Constructed 72-80 A.D. The arch, brought into general use by the Romans, was a form of construction more sophisticated than the post and lintel method; however, the Romans continued to use the post and lintel system decoratively, to give a sense of visual logic to arch construction. As we see here, the arch provides the real support for the building, while the columns and their entablatures are imposed upon the wall like a grid, lending a kind of mathematical clarity to the composition. The Neoclassicists often used applied orders to create compositions satisfying for their visual logic. From antique monuments such as the Colosseum, the Neoclassicists also borrowed the hierarchical ranking of the orders with the simpler and plainer orders below, progressing storey by storey through to the richer orders. (Alinari)

Throughout the early travels to Rome and to Graeco-Roman sites, Greece remained the lodestone of European man. Locked in the darkness of the xenophobic Ottoman Empire, Greece was as unknown as a distant planet. Until the mid-eighteenth century, it was not even known whether any true antique Greek architecture still survived. The remains of the temples at the Graeco-Roman site of Paestum (Fig. 11) in Italy, rediscovered in the 1760s, had shocked Western sensibilities, for their orders were not light and delicate as expected, but rather short, stumpy and without bases. It was felt that only accurate drawings of Athenian buildings would establish the true nature of Greek architecture, which was thought to be the predecessor of Roman and therefore of all architecture.

In later works, the question of the true nature of the Greek architecture was set to rest. J.D. LeRoy was the first to publish on mainland Greek architecture (*Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, 1758), but the finesse of Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (Vol. 1, 1762; Vol. 2, 1790) made it the pivotal work in studies of Greek architecture. It was followed by Revett and Chandler's *Antiquities of Ionia* (1769). These and other works described the true nature of Greek architecture. To some the architecture seemed pure, chaste, restrained, prototypical. To others it seemed brutal and ugly. The full effect of the Greek discoveries was not to be felt for some years, while the implications of its architecture had time to seep into minds accustomed to the richness of Roman buildings. Meanwhile the Romanists had a headstart.

The Theory: Rationalism

Those who wrote on architecture drew a parallel between architecture and nature. In their view, a building should consist only of the features that supported the structure, or were the supported elements that formed the roof, doors, windows and so forth. Like nature, which allows nothing to survive that has no purpose, architecture should have no extraneous elements.

French writer Abbé Laugier expressed

11. Temple of Poseidon, Paestum, Italy
Constructed ca. 460 B.C.; **Material** stone. The temples of Paestum, a colony of Ancient Greece in southern Italy, were the first Grecian temples the Europeans encountered in their search for the remains of ancient Greece. Europeans were initially appalled by the baseless columns, their fat capitals, and their overall short, stumpy proportions. Initially they would not believe that these temples were truly representative of the Greek. But soon after, the first illustrations of the Parthenon (Fig. 3) to reach the West confirmed the authenticity of the Paestum buildings. In time, European architects and connoisseurs grew tired of Roman richness, and developed a taste for the simple, elemental qualities of Grecian architecture. (Alinari)

12. Primitive Hut

Frontispiece of Abbé Laugier's *Essai sur l'architecture*. During the eighteenth century, there was considerable speculation on the origins of architecture. Most writers on the subject assumed that European man had first erected rude shelters much like those the primitive peoples of the world were then inhabiting. It was Abbé Laugier who proposed seriously that architecture should return to these kinds of primitive models to serve as bases for modern design. This sketch shows the structure of the building should consist of three elements: the vertical support, the horizontal beam, and the slanting gable to shed water and to tie the whole together. Laugier presented graphically the pure, elemental, uncluttered lines to which architects must return if their building were to be truly honest, architecturally. The muse, sitting with calipers and square in hand, rests against the components of classical architecture that derive from the simple hut: a capital, the shaft of a column and the entablature. (Abbé Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture*, 2nd ed., Paris: Abbé Laugier, 1755, frontispiece)

these ideas best in his *Essai sur l'architecture* (1753) when he summed up his ideas in this phrase:

> C'est dans les parties essentielles que consistent toutes les beautés; dans les parties introduites par besoin consistent toutes les licences; dans les parties ajoutées par caprice consistent tous les défauts.[2]

He postulated a so-called "Primitive Hut" (Fig. 12) as mankind's first shelter, consisting solely of supporting and supported elements.[3] Vertical poles stuck into the ground supported a horizontal pole which in turn carried the diagonal poles of the gable. By analogy, the modern building should ideally be composed of columns, entablature and gable, and anything additional to these was not consistent with true building.

Eliminated within Laugier's scheme was a significant portion of the classical vocabulary: pedestals, attached columns, pilasters, niches, urns, decorative pediments for doors and windows, pediments not on the gable end of the building, and mouldings around doors and windows. Walls, doors and windows were allowed in Laugier's ideal architecture only as concessions to convenience. As for the orders, Laugier admired the Greek orders greatly, but felt that since conditions in the modern world were different, a new architecture - including new orders - was necessary. The suitability of new orders would be determined not by rules, but by "Taste,"[4] a concept relying principally on individual judgment and experience.

In spite of his reductionist view of design, Laugier's theory had a liberating influence on architecture. If followed to the letter, Laugier's ideas would have produced quite an impractical body of architecture. No architect did take Laugier literally; Neoclassicism was in fact more flexible than its predecessor, Palladianism. Laugier's contribution was

rather in the purifying influence that this sort of rigorous logic had on design. The spirit of austerity expressed in Laugian theory coincided with the elementalism of antique architecture.

Neoclassicism: the Practice

The theories just described were used - and altered - by three principal groups of architects in Britain and America. The first group included British architects William Chambers and Robert Adam, and their followers, and their work represents the more conservative and larger group of Neoclassical buildings. The second group of architects was more daring, putting into practice some of the more imaginative and erudite elements of Neoclassical theory, and combining them with their own very personal interpretations. The two principal architects here were John Soane and John Nash. Finally, there were the Greek Revivalists, who split into two camps. The Greek Revival mode of Neoclassicism originated in England at the hands of Robert Smirke, William Wilkins and C.R. Cockerell. But its most original manifestations were in the United States as exemplified by the work of architect and author Minard Lafever.

William Chambers and Robert Adam were Britain's foremost architects during the late eighteenth century, and their strong influence ensured the survival of their ideas long after their individual practices were over. Both drew their classical inspiration from ancient Roman sites; Adam in fact wrote a book based on his studies of an ancient Roman palace.[5] Both architects were similarly conservative in their continued reliance upon the stylistic current that had preceded them, which was Palladianism.

Palladianism, popular during the first half of the eighteenth century, was a return to the architectural style of Italian Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio and his contemporaries.[6] The type of building characteristic of Palladio (Fig. 13) was a three-part building having a dominant centre section and smaller flanking wings to either side. Vertically the building was organized again into three parts. A heavily rusticated basement storey contained the household services and supported the *piano nobile*, or principal storey of the building. Above was the lower attic storey. A centre-piece preceded the whole, approached by a monumental flight of steps. This format was revived in the early eighteenth century by the Palladians (Fig. 14) and retained in the late eighteenth century by Chambers and Adam.

Chambers's principal contribution was his development of an influential format for public architecture. He applied the Palladian elevation (a form originally meant for private residences) and Roman decorative detail to Somerset House, then the largest public building in Europe (Fig. 15). As we see, a rusticated base supports a large storey, which in turn supports a smaller attic storey. The centre section and end pavilions project from the surface of the whole. Yet Chambers has modified the elevation by unifying it all under one cornice, by making the whole a tighter, more self-contained structure than the Palladian villa. The effect is more concentrated, more monumental.

Chambers's ideas were promulgated by the many architects who engaged in the erection of public buildings throughout provincial Britain. Dublin architect James Gandon was the most notable example. A domestic flavour and heavy reliance upon Palladian composition still evident in Chambers's work are diminished in Gandon's Dublin Custom House (Fig. 16). Following in the stream of Chambers's Somerset House is the custom house's prominent setting, and its use of the antique vocabulary, and the way it is drawn more tightly into a unified rectangle, the tripartite division underplayed. George Browne, the architect of Kingston City Hall (Fig. 1), undoubtedly had Gandon's work in mind while formulating plans for Kingston City Hall.

Robert Adam was also a conservative rather than a progressive interpreter of the style; he was a Romanist and his influence was felt principally in the area of domestic architecture. His exteriors retained the Palladian composition of centre block with side pavilions, and an elevation of rustic high principal storey and attic storey (Fig. 17). But there were progressive aspects to Adam's architecture. He offered a new treatment of the wall surface by reinterpreting the Palladian facade from the sculptural to the linear. He transformed the heavily rusticated

base of the Palladian elevation into one of smoothly channelled masonry; door and window mouldings became simpler and less sculptural, or were even eliminated altogether so that only sharp lines cut into the smooth surface of the wall. As Steegman puts it, Adam shifted taste from the rule of mass to the rule of line.[7]

Adam's second major contribution was the body of decorative details he added to the Neoclassical style. Some motifs were taken from ancient domestic architecture which he had studied first hand at the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro and these included antique varieties of swags, urns, fans and grotesques. Other details were either of his own invention, or were contemporary decorative features such as the fanlight, so often used and well elaborated by Adam that they became trademarks of his personal style and that of his followers. In fact, these details came to be called "Adamesque." Such decorative details were executed in the delicate linearism that Adam had promoted, and as such were ideal for interior decorations executed as they were in plaster, wood and marble.

Less influential but more inventive were the works of architects John Soane and John Nash, who treated Neoclassical architecture in personal and imaginative ways. Soane drew upon the severely rationalistic ideas of Abbé Laugier and the French architects who followed him, Ledoux and Boullée. In buildings like the Bank of England (Fig. 18), Soane applied rationalist ideas of Neoclassicism more rigorously than did his contemporaries; in so doing he eliminated pediments where there were no gable ends, and used pilasters in

13. Villa Rotunda, Vicenza, Italy

Constructed 1550; **Architect** Andrea Palladio. The work of Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio, represented here by his Villa Rotunda, became for the eighteenth century Palladians the epitome of good design. Its simplicity and clarity were refreshing after the enrichments of the Baroque and Rococo. Andrea Palladio's work sought an ideal beauty based on a system of fixed rules and proportions, and the clear division of parts. The foundation of ancient Roman ideas is readily visible in the portico and shallow dome (cf. the Panthenon, Fig. 7). (Alinari)

14. Holkham Hall, Norfolk, England

Constructed 1734; **Architect** William Kent; **Material** stone. Holkham Hall by William Kent was a principal monument of the Palladian style. The elevation of rusticated storey, high principal storey and lower attic storey became identified with the work of the eighteenth century Palladians. These designers again subdivided their buildings into three units horizontally, with a dominant centre pavilion, flanked by two lesser pavilions. Palladianism, because it was a classical style, generally sympathetic to Neoclassicism in its conservative aspect, never lost the stamp of its parentage. (National Monuments Record, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England)

15. Somerset House, London, England

Constructed 1776-80; **Architect** William Chambers; **Material** stone. The largest and most influential public building of the late eighteenth century was William Chambers's Somerset House. He loosely modelled the composition of centre-piece with flanking wings on the Palladian house of the preceding years, although with notable changes. Rather than building three fairly separate units, he built one unified rectangle with only slight accents for the centre and the end pavilions (originally the porticoes were the end pavilions; the wings beyond these were added in 1835 and 1856). He further unified the facade by underplaying the rusticated base below the principal and attic storeys and exaggerating the cornice line that caps the whole. Chambers's formula for the monumental public building remained the standard until the mid-nineteenth century. (National Monuments Record, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England)

16. Custom House, Dublin, Ireland

Constructed 1781-91; **Architect** James Gandon; **Material** stone. Of all James Gandon's public buildings his Dublin Custom House stands out as one of the most polished of Neoclassical public buildings. As at Chambers's Somerset House, Gandon's Dublin Custom House uses the same format of centre-piece with flanking wings and end pavilions all drawn into a tight rectangle. But with a higher dome, more massive centre-piece and bolder cornice, Gandon has created a more aggressive monument, one less closely derived from the Palladian house. The works of Chambers's Irish followers, Gandon and Thomas Colley, were particularly important for Canada, for Ireland was the origin of several of our early architects, notably George Browne and James Purcell. (National Library of Ireland)

a strictly decorative manner, not passing them off as the pastiche of supportive members for which they had been used. And in buildings like the Bank of England he eliminated the rustic, since the principal rooms were on the ground and not elevated over a service floor.

Soane and Nash applied some of the ideas of the Picturesque Movement to Neoclassical architecture. As the name suggests, the Picturesque Movement was concerned with the "pictoral" possiblities of a building, whatever its architectural style. The surfaces and masses of the building could be manipulated to create pictographic effects of light and shade, and a building could be sited so that a structure and its location were suited to each other. To create the effect of advancing and receding forms producing patterns of light and shade, Soane and Nash introduced blind arcades, panelling, and wide flat pilasters framing the ends of the building to modulate the wall surfaces. These architects also borrowed from the Picturesque a concern for the setting of a building; the building was meant to fit harmoniously into its surroundings, as though it were an element in a picture.

These ideas were influential for large urban buildings, for domestic design, and for church architecture. In urban building, the models of the Bank of England and of Nash's terraces (Fig. 19) suggested to architects the possibility of arranging streets into compositional wholes, of exploiting the urban setting for its scenic potential. In the area of domestic building (Fig. 20), Soane recommended that classical details rightly belonged on religious and public architecture, not domestic, and

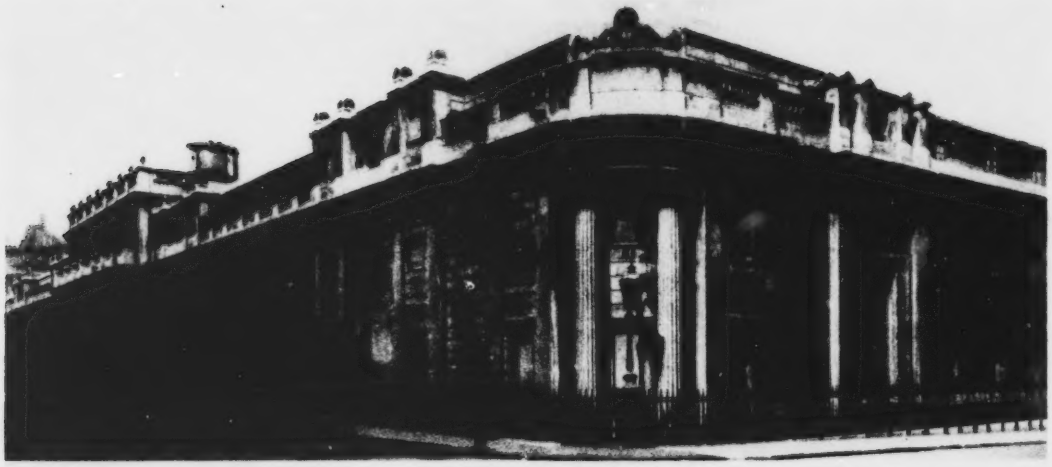
that classical architecture when taken to its most elemental level consisted solely of symmetry and regularity. Joseph Gwilt, an author on architectural books that presented Soane's ideas, wrote:

> ... if, in designing even the smallest house (the architect) will keep in mind that the use of the orders and their accessories may be applied to it, though omitted in reality for the sake of economy, he will invariably produce a work which possesses a grace far beyond the reach of the common artisan or builder.[8]

The result was a variety of house having no

17. Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, Scotland

Constructed 1791-1800; **Architect** Robert Adam; **Material** stone. Although the Charlotte Square complex was of a size and elaborateness never attempted in Canada, we can readily see here several of the elements of Adam's Neoclassicism that were transferred across the Atlantic. A smoothly channelled masonry base supports the upper storeys, while blind arches, mouldingless windows, fanlights and swags ornament the rest of the wall surface in a delicately linear manner. These features, and their linear quality, reappear in Canadian Neoclassical buildings. The three centre houses were presented to Scotland by the 5th Marquess of Bute in 1966. They are used for public offices, and the left of the three centre houses is opened to the public by the National Trust for Scotland. (National Trust for Scotland)



18. Bank of England, London, England

Constructed 1820-24; **Architect** John Soane; **Material** stone. John Soane's Bank of England was enormously influential in the design of Neoclassical commercial buildings. Starting with an awkward site, Soane created a building that moulded itself harmoniously into its setting by using curving corners, and colonnades flush with the sidewalk, whose architectural features are shallow to make the best use of space, while being a handsome design. Soane elaborated the facade with his own vocabulary of panelling, strip pilasters and crestings, along with Roman and Greek details. Notice the blind rectangles used by George Browne on the Rockwood Stables (Fig. 72), the composition of Corinthian columns, pilasters and scroll used by John Howard on the Bank of British North America (Fig. 46). (John Soane, *Designs for Public and Private Buildings*, London: Priestley and Weale, 1828, plate 48)

specifically classical details, but retaining the symmetry of classicism, placed in a Picturesque setting, with the facade manipulated to produce effects of light and shade.[9]

Finally, Soane's rationalistic ideas had an effect on the church architecture of the Anglican and Reformist sects (Fig. 21). Where Chambers and Adam had not addressed themselves to the question of the Neoclassical church, Soane produced several designs that applied the ideas of structural logic to the traditional church elevations used by these two groups.

The final phase of Neoclassicism was the so-called Greek Revival. It began with a preference for Greek detail over the Roman (Fig. 22), a shift in taste that had been growing slowly over the decades. Dyed-in-the-wool Romanists considered the baseless Doric columns of certain Greek temples hideously ugly (Fig. 11), and the Greek Ionic order fat and ungraceful. To them, Roman architecture had advanced beyond the Greek and had improved upon it considerably. But by the 1820s, the vision of a primitive ideal, and the reductionist ideals of rational Neoclassicism eventually persuaded Western eyes to accept the Greek as beautiful. While some buildings combined the two classical sources, eventually the Greek broke off from the Roman, and headed towards its own hegemony.

The Greek Revival took shape in two ways, one more characteristically British, and another more American. British architects

such as Robert Smirke, William Wilkins and C.R. Cockerell were content to express their taste for the Greek simply by switching their decorative details from the Roman to the Hellenic. Copyism to them was unacceptable. As one writer put it, "Any edifice which in appearance ressembles an ancient temple is unfit in character, and shows puerility and poverty of imagination in the designer."[10] Their buildings had the same plans and elevations as those of Chambers, Adam, Soane, and the rest (Fig. 23). They simply substituted Greek details for the Roman, and suggested the motif of the temple in the portico a little more forcefully.

But for American architects, fascination with the Greek went much deeper and affected plans and elevations markedly (Fig. 24). American architects such as Minard Lafever developed new building types to accord with their new perception of the word "style."[11] To date, the word "style" had

19. Park Crescent, Regent's Park, London, England
Constructed 1812; **Architect** John Nash; **Material** stone. The stylistic expression of Park Crescent is entirely Neoclassic: an antique Ionic colonnade supports a storey of windows set in arch mouldings, and then two storeys of windows without mouldings. The whole is simple, linear, clear, much like Robert Adam's buildings. Nash, of all of the Neoclassical architects, was concerned with harmonious composition in the urban setting, not just with the design of the individual building, and this pictorial attitude of his involved the rebuilding of great sections of London. Here the sweep of Park Crescent leads the eye in a gracious curve, embracing one end of Regent's Park across the street. The careful composition of Neoclassical buildings within their urban environments was to appear in Canada as well, although on a smaller scale. (National Monuments Record, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England)

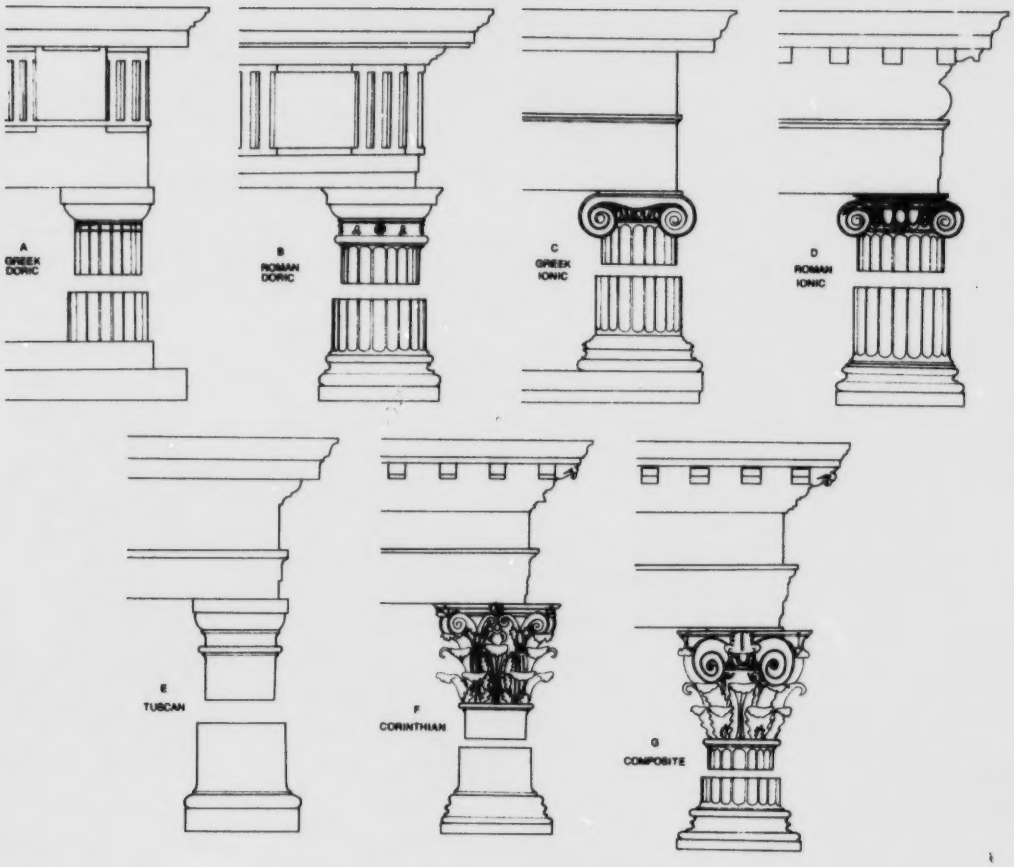
20. Neoclassical Villa

The Neoclassical villa received wide prominence through publications such as Francis Goodwin's pattern books. Here many features of Neoclassicism appear: antique orders, smooth, linear surfaces, and symmetry and regularity. The landscaped environment, and the concern for effects of light and shade, of lightly coloured building against dark foliage, of shadows playing across the surfaces of the building, inspired Canadian builders to erect their Neoclassical homes in picturesque settings in the countryside around Quebec City, Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, and along the Niagara escarpment. (Francis Goodwin, *Domestic Architecture*, 3rd ed., London: Henry G. Bohn, 1850, Vol. 2, plate 24)

referred solely to the decorative details of a building. If a building had a pointed window, it was considered to be in the Gothic style; if it had a Doric order with a base it was called the Roman style, whereas a Doric order without a base was called the Greek style. But thorough examination and comparison of buildings found at ancient sites pointed out that the differences between the Greek and the Roman were more fundamental than differences between the decorative elements alone. The plans and elevations differed as well. Beginning with the Greek Revivalists, the Victorian architects of the nineteenth century were to

21. Proposal for a Church

Of all the principal Neoclassical architects, John Soane was the most acutely aware of the problems involved in church design. The Anglican church required a tower and spire rising up over the entrance, and since the early eighteenth century they had risen directly from the slope of the roof. To have a square tower rise from the angle of a roof seemed abhorrently illogical to the Neoclassicists. Soane solved the problem by erecting a high parapet before the gable, effectively hiding the roof, and providing a flat platform from which the tower could rise in a visually rational manner. The rest of the facade of the church was thoroughly Neoclassical, with panelling, arcading, flat pilasters, and antique details. (John Soane, *Designs for Public and Private Buildings*, London: Priestley and Weale, 1828, plate 36)



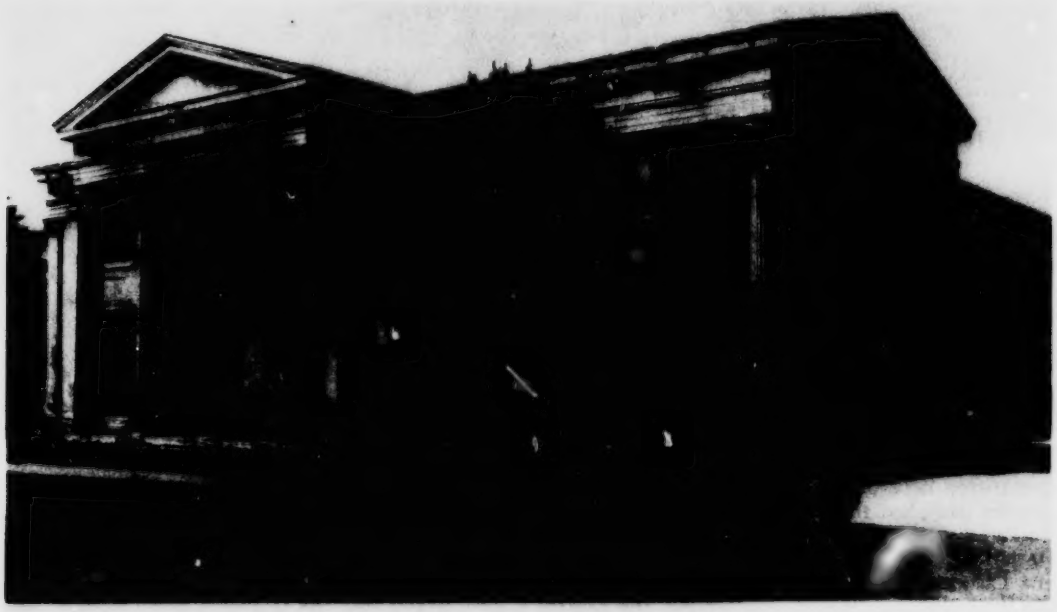
22. The Greek and Roman Orders

Illustrated here are the five orders of architecture which originated in Greece and Rome. The Greeks designed the Greek Doric, the Greek Ionic and the Greek Corinthian orders (A, C and F). To these the Romans added two new orders, the plainer Tuscan and the more elaborate Composite (E and G). Most often used by the Neoclassicists were the Doric and Ionic of both cultures, while the Corinthian and Composite were rarely seen. In the Greek Doric (A), no base separates the shaft of the column from the ground, the capital is very heavy, and the triglyphs come right to the corner of the frieze. But the Roman Doric order (B) has a base, a light capital, and the triglyphs are set back from the edge of the frieze. The principal difference between the Greek Ionic (C) and the Roman Ionic (D) is that the Greek scroll capital is more like a scroll. The front and back of the capital show the curling scroll ends while the sides show the long undecorated sides of the scroll. But the Romans used carved volutes on all four sides of the capital, to make them all identical. The only other notable difference between the Greek and the Roman orders was the generally longer and thinner proportions of the Roman, suggesting elegance and refinement. The short Greek orders seem more elemental, forceful, direct. (Adapted from Joseph Gwilt, *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture, Historical, Theoretical and Practical*, new ed. by Wyatt Papworth, London: Longman, Green and Co., 1867, Figs 877, 879, 887, 888 and 891; graphics by Wayne Duford, Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

see the composition of the plan, elevation, and decorative details as integral elements of a building's style.

American Greek Revivalists who took this course advocated the adaptation of the plan and elevation of the best-known of all Greek buildings, the temple, for all kinds of modern structures, regardless of their function. The net result was the birth of a kind of literalism in architecture, in which a building by virtue of its close resemblance to a two-thousand-year-old structure could be taken as a symbol of another nation's democratic principles. This led to the death of the Neoclassical principle of using antiquity as merely a storehouse of ideas to be borrowed and adapted as needed to create a modern architecture. The death of a rational association between the function of a building and its form coincided with the sanction of the copy.

In England, the three groups we have been discussing constitute three successive generations, and the time period for the appearance of their principal works is about 1760-1830. In provincial Britain, Scotland, the United States and Canada, Neoclassicism caught on later and survived later. In Canada, Neoclassicism did not appear until about 1820, and it lasted until 1860. As well, the three groups are simultaneous, rather than successive. The result is



23. Downing College, Cambridge, England
Constructed 1806; **Architect** William Wilkins; **Material** stone. The appearance of the Greek Revival mode in British Neoclassicism meant the use of Greek details in place of the Roman, without any significant changes in the overall plan and elevation of the structure. Downing College was the first of the British Greek Revival buildings, and it retains the Chambersonian composition characteristic of public buildings, that is, a long, low building with centre-piece, while using a Greek Ionic order and entablature. Note the design of the capitals of the corner columns: like the Greeks, Wilkins has added a volute to the outside end of the capital, so that its side view matches its front view. The intermediary columns maintain the two volutes, front and back. (National Monuments Record, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England)

24. St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Sixth Avenue, Washington Place, New York City, New York

Constructed 1834; **Architect** John Doran; **Material** stone. The Greek temple plan was much imitated in the United States, and in Canada in areas heavily populated by Americans. Most Greek Revival temples followed the model of antique temples that had a prostyle facade: that is with an entrance on the short gable end preceded by a free-standing or an applied order of columns in line across the facade such as the Queens County Court House (Fig. 2). Greek Revival temples such as this one adapted the *in antis* facade of antiquity. Here, the entrance is set back behind two columns flanked by projections of the wall. This variety of temple provided more usable interior space, while requiring fewer large expensive columns. Few buildings in the Greek Revival mode of Neoclassicism had an order of columns extending the entire perimeter of the building (Fig. 84), because this was expensive and made for a dark interior. (Landmarks Preservation Commission, New York)

that the first two groups tend to fuse, the immensely popular conservative Neoclassicism accommodating the more advanced phase as a kind of variant of itself. The Greek Revival retains its distinctiveness, co-existing with the other school of Neoclassicism.

NEOCLASSICISM COMES TO CANADA

Canada, as a group of colonies belonging to Great Britain, enjoyed the reign of the Neoclassical style in cultural harmony with the rest of Western civilization. Here also there was sharp interest in things antique and rational. People dressed in Neoclassical garb and bought china illustrated with scenes of classical ruins. Charles Fothergill of Toronto attempted to establish an Athenaeum housed in a reproduction of the Parthenon.[1] Public lectures could be heard on the subject of the antique world.[2] Other antiquarians established curio cabinets and museums, reflecting the current fascination with the physical remains of history, a preoccupation that had led the British to establish the British Museum to house Lord Elgin's Athenian sculptures. Canadian antiquarians had valuable collections of drawings illustrating antique sculpture, ceramics and buildings. The Séminaire de Québec, for instance, owned a copy of Lord Hamilton's *Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1766).[3] One M. Vattemare owned an extensive collection of engravings of "the interesting discoveries from the ruins of ancient Nineveh"[4] (translation). And at least one traveller to Canada drew comparisons between the settlement of Canada and the colonization of the Mediterranean in ancient times.[5]

The Neoclassical style was brought to Canada by architects, by builders and by architectural pattern books. The principal commissions went to the architects, and therefore it was from them that the finest and most influential examples of Neoclassicism issued. The builders erected the greater number of buildings, the vernacular ones, whose stylistic expression was more constrained by funds and availability of materials. Both groups used pattern books as general references to elaborate their ideas.

The Architects

Both English- and French-speaking architects worked in the Neoclassical style. The English-speaking architects were almost all of British birth and training. Men such as John Howard, George Browne, James Purcell, the Blaiklocks, F.W. Cumberland and Frederick Hacker came to Canada already having had some practical experience in Britain,[6] and they brought to Canada images of the outstanding models of British Neoclassicism clearly etched in their minds. We have already seen how George Browne based Kingston City Hall on the Dublin Custom House, and we shall see other such examples of direct British influence being exerted on Canadian architecture by the awareness that Canadian architects had of British precedents. Because our architects arrived here fully trained from the relatively homogenous building world of Britain, they tended to build structures that were stylistically consistent from region to region and closely derived from the British model.

French architects of Quebec borrowed Neoclassical ideas both from the English-speaking architects with whom they shared the building worlds of Montreal and Quebec, and from more direct contacts with France. The influence of English-speaking architects upon the French, and vice versa, had been going on long before the advent of the Neoclassical style, when Palladianism had been the popular stylistic trend.[7] From English Neoclassicism French architects borrowed the toned-down Palladian elevation, a linear treatment of the facade, and antique details. A cultural link with France remained, partly through the availability of French architectural books that supplemented the English ones.[8] The air of French Neoclassicism pervades the work of architect Charles Baillairgé.

The presence of a few home-grown architects marks a certain independence from European sources, and a sharpening of the North American focus. This is especially true of native-born and -trained Quebec architects who had always maintained their particular tastes. Fewer were the home-grown English architects. Little is known of Toronto architect Storm, beyond the fact that he was indeed a native son. His presence may account for the few Greek literalisms in the works done with his British partner, F.W. Cumberland. Halifax architect Henry Hill received his architectural training with the

Halifax Mechanics' Institute, where he won a prize for the design of a Grecian cottage villa. His work, like much of Maritime architecture, was closer to New England than England. But native-trained architects were few because architectural instruction was not available in any formal or consistent way in Canada during the early nineteenth century.[9]

The Builders

The builders who put up the majority of the structures were of British, American and Quebec origins. British builders were among the British immigrants who arrived in Canada by the thousands during the 1830s and 1840s. They settled principally in Ontario and to a lesser extent in Quebec and the Maritimes. They brought with them their own building ideas, and erected small public buildings, modestly sized churches and houses based upon British models.

American influence was weak during the 1830s and 1840s because of the overwhelming tide of British immigration. However, in a number of areas, such as the Niagara peninsula, the Eastern Townships and parts of Nova Scotia, people of American origins had remained a significant enough factor in the population to affect local building. When British immigration subsided in the 1840s American influence re-exerted itself strongly in those areas. After the 1840s also, British builders were of the second generation, and while they did not turn their backs on Britain, they inevitably turned their eyes towards North America, and towards the models of architecture that began to appear here.

French builders of course dominated the vernacular building world of Quebec. Neoclassicism's principal contribution to Quebec building was the addition of new decorative details of antique origin to traditional approaches to design. These ideas were acquired from the models presented by major Neoclassical buildings, the works of other local builders, and pattern books.

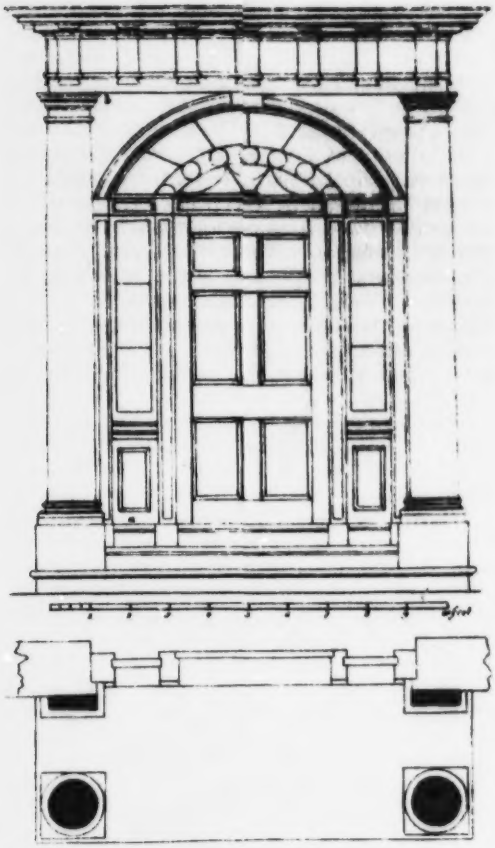
The Books

Pattern books seem to have been used by both architects and builders as reference books for general ideas and for decorative details, not as sources for whole plans and elevations. Copyism was censured, and even those literalists, the Greek Revivalists, do not seem to have lapsed into it. Of those pattern books known to have existed here, the vast majority were of British origin, and they were the pattern books that treated the ideas of Chambers and Adam, and Soane and Nash. A smaller number of American pattern books were available,[10] including the works of Asher Benjamin, an American author whose early books were heavily in the shadow of British Neoclassicists Chambers and Adam. The books of Minard Lafever were the most important vehicle of dissemination for ideas on the Greek Revival.

Chambers's ideas were promoted by a number of pattern books, particularly those by Joseph Gwilt (*see* Bibliography). Editions of Gwilt's writings were published as late as 1854, and in these editions the model of Somerset House is set forward as the correct model to follow for public architecture.[11] Roman orders and details form the bulk of the illustrations (Figs 4 and 22). Like Chambers, Gwilt relied heavily on the architectural models and writings of Palladio and his contemporaries, Serlio, Scamozzi and Vignola. Gwilt's books were available in Canada and were a vehicle for the transference of Chambersonian ideas to this country.

Adam's ideas caught the popular imagination, and Adamesque details, such as the fanlight, were illustrated in nearly every British pattern book of the era, and in many of the American ones as well, notably the influential series of books published by Boston architect Asher Benjamin (Fig. 25) (*see* Bibliography). Through these books Adam's version of domestic architecture was adapted to every material and to every size of house throughout Canada.

Soane and Nash's ideas were less readily transferred to the level of provincial and small-scale building, and so few pattern books treated their ideas. Soane published several books himself, and a few authors of Picturesque pattern books, such as Francis Goodwin, illustrated Soanian buildings (Fig. 20). The authors of more conservative works, such as Joseph Gwilt, were not adverse to integrating more advanced ideas where they fit in with their own notions. This accounts



25. Doorway

Authors like Asher Benjamin adapted European Neoclassicism to the level of the builders' pattern book, as a comparison of this doorway with Robert Adam's Charlotte Square (Fig. 17) illustrates. In these books, Neoclassicism was greatly simplified, so that the door became the focus of all decorative attention, with the Adamesque fanlight immensely popular for many years either as a segmental arch as seen here, or as a half-circle, or as an ellipse which was more favoured in Canada and the northern New England States. Columns or pilasters flanking the door were popular as well, and Benjamin gave special instructions how to build antique columns out of wood by carving and by building up the pieces. An entablature placed over the fanlight as seen here was an elaboration rarely seen in Canada. (Asher Benjamin, *The Rudiments of Architecture*, 1814; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1974, plate 27)

for some hazing of the lines between the conservative and the advanced in Canadian Neoclassicism.

The principal author of pattern books on the Greek Revival was Minard Lafever. Although he may not have originated the idea of the small house having the elevation of a Greek temple, he certainly popularized the type (Fig. 26). Also influential were Peter Nicholson's books, although his stylistic information was taken largely from Minard Lafever. Other American pattern books found here include several works by Henry Barnard, an expert on school architecture. The Nova Scotia legislature commissioned a book of design from him in the 1850s[12] (Fig. 27). He is referred to in a pattern book of Ontario school buildings printed by the Ontario government, a pattern book which in turn found its way into at least one Quebec library.[13] Barnard returned the compliment by publishing an illustration of the Toronto Normal School in one of his own books.[14]

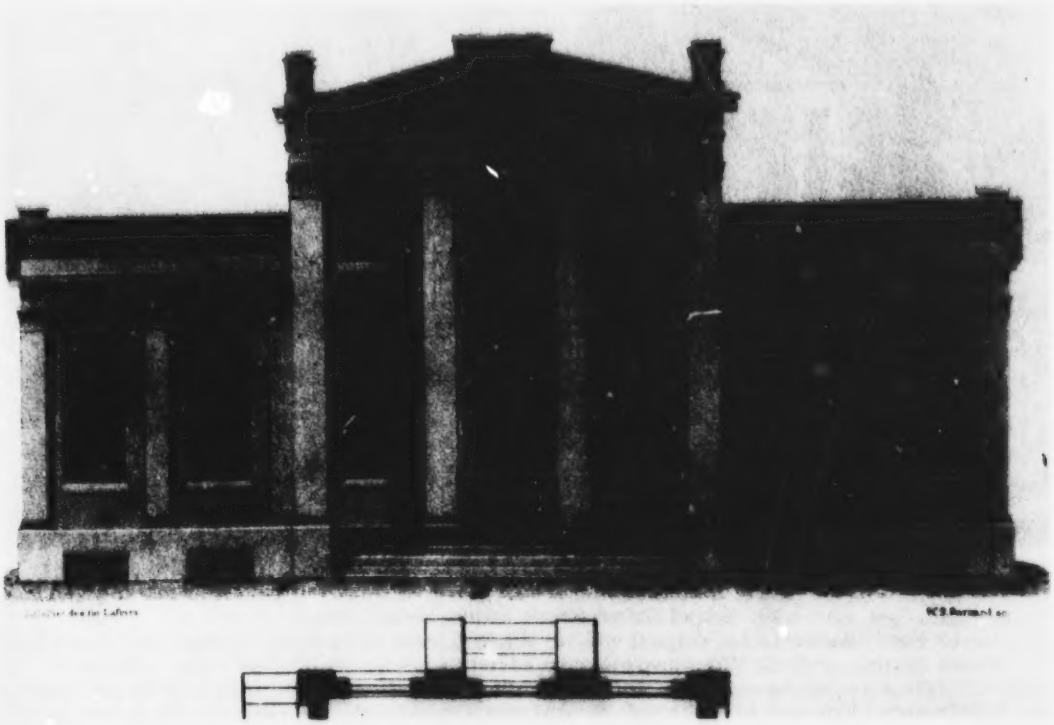
Comparing and contrasting the pattern books that these three groups produced tells us something about how they each interpreted Neoclassical architecture. In the books of the Chambers and Adam school, the illustrations are principally of details: orders, fanlights, swags, urns and the like. Full facades are rarely seen. This suggests that the architects of this school saw Neoclassicism as a change in details and surface treatments, and that the nature of the elevation could be taken for granted, being the Palladian elevation with which everyone was familiar.

By contrast the pattern books of the Soanian school show the entire building, suggesting the architects of this school were searching for new elevations, and for significantly new ways of treating the old ones. Furthermore, the buildings are shown in perspective, in their settings, represented pictorially with the effects of light and shade on the structures indicated. The nature of these illustrations makes clear the concern of this

group of architects for an integrated relationship between the building and its environment.

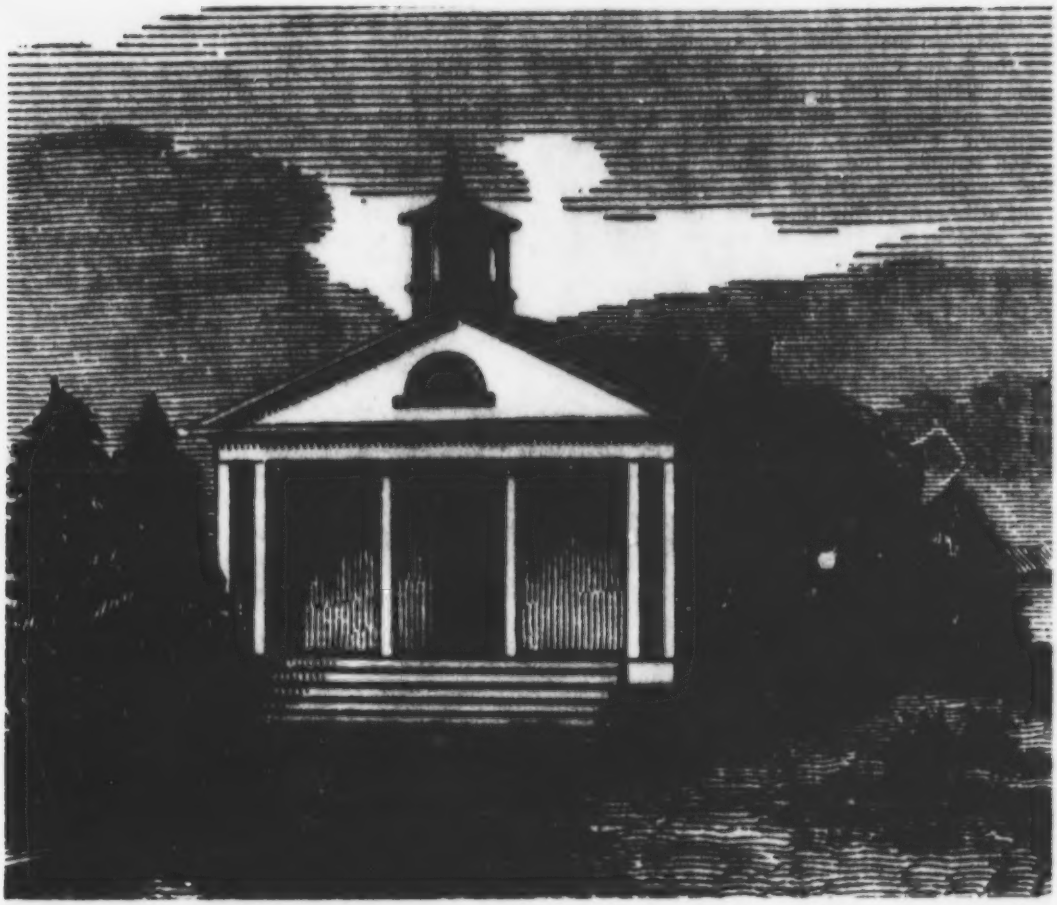
The Greek Revivalists naturally showed the entire building in their pattern books, for they were introducing entirely new ways of designing elevations, based on the ancient Greek temple. They also tended to illustrate their buildings as though they were in a setting, although by the time the Greek Revival took hold in the 1840s, all pattern books did this as a standard practice and it does not seem to have had any bearing on how the Greek Revivalists were interpreting Neoclassicism.

The picture we have, then, is of an architectural style strongly British because of the British origins of the majority of our early architects and builders, and of the pattern books they used. Quebec architects were largely indigenously trained and had access to French texts, yet their works were also influenced strongly by British Neoclassicism because of the building environment in which they worked. The American influence is



26. A Greek Revival House

American architect and author Minard Lafever popularized the adaptation of the Greek temple plan to modern domestic use. The centre section with its entrance on the short gable end, its order, and its pediment inscribed in the gable makes the allusion to the antique prototype. Wings have been added to either side to make this shape more usable as a house although sometimes the side wings were omitted. Other antique details could subsequently be added around doors and windows and for interior trim. The Greek Revival temple form seen here was especially popular in southern Ontario, and the mid-western United States. (Minard Lafever, *The Modern Builder's Guide*, 1833; New York: Dover, 1969, frontispiece).



27. School House, Rhode Island, United States

Drawing by Henry Barnard. Buildings similar to this one were to be found throughout Canada and the United States. Indeed, this illustration appeared in nearly all of Henry Barnard's books on school architecture influential in Canada (*see* Bibliography), in J.G. Hodgins's *The School House; its Architecture, External and Internal Arrangements* and in the Proceedings of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia (1853). This building has an *in antis* facade, that is, two columns set between flanking walls framed by pilasters. The gable end serves as the pediment. (Nova Scotia. House of Assembly, "Report of the Schools of Nova Scotia for the Year 1852," in *Sessional Papers, 1853*, Halifax: House of Assembly, 1853, Append. 10, p. 208)

accreditable to the available American pattern books, to the American origins of a significant proportion of the population, and to the shift in focus of the Canadian population away from distant Britain, towards their new North American homeland.

PUBLIC AND COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

The most important manifestations of Neoclassicism were in public and commercial buildings. From the 1830s through to the 1850s, Canada experienced a tremendous growth in population, which occasioned a demand for more and more government services, and more and more public buildings to house administrative offices. The surge in the colonies' growth affected the commercial world as well, necessitating more commercial buildings. The majority of the new public buildings were in the conservative, Chambersonian mode, having a centre portico and three-part elevation. They were erected generally in stone in Ontario towns, Quebec City, Montreal and Saint John, with a few wood examples being erected in rural locations. Soanian buildings were few, since this basically Picturesque mode was not as concerned with effects of monumentality so desirable in public buildings, and so easily created by the conservative mode; nevertheless, there were a few commercial buildings in Toronto, Montreal, Quebec City and Saint John that used Picturesque effects. The British version of the Greek Revival was built in most of the major urban centres in stone, while the American Greek Revival was most commonly found built in wood and brick, and in areas where the Americans represented a significant proportion of the population, in southern Ontario, the Eastern Townships, and the Maritimes.

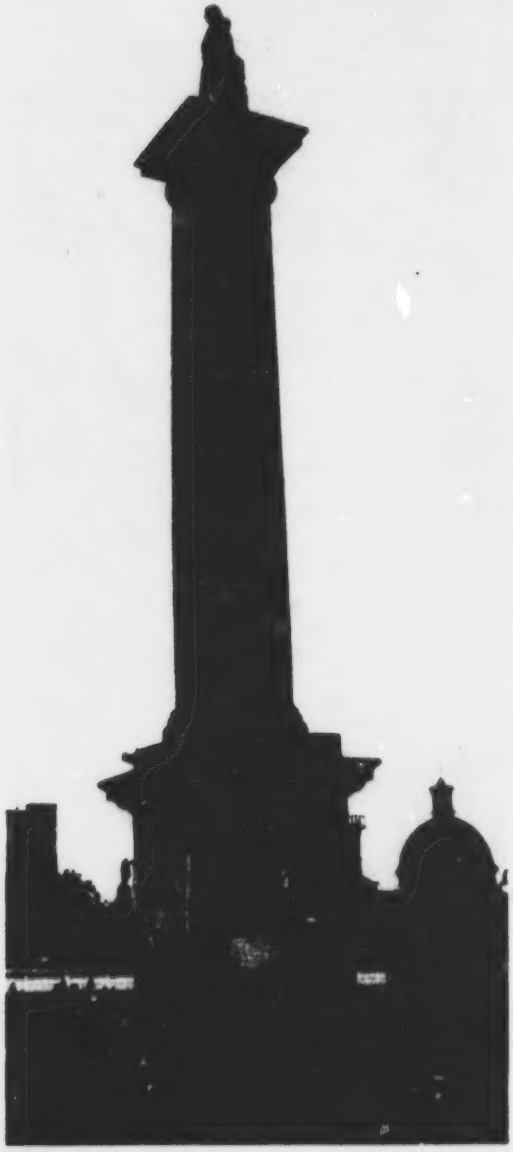
It is appropriate that the first appearance of a style preoccupied with historical precedent should be in a public monument commemorating a historical event.[1] The first such monument was Nelson's column (Fig. 28) erected in 1809 in Montreal to honor the victories of Admiral Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar. The monument was in the latest European fashion, borrowing the format of a single column topped with a statue, as used on Trajan's column in Rome (Fig. 9). The Roman Tuscan order of the column was considered the most appropriate order for monuments to military heros, for it suggested strength, forcefulness and bluntness.

The idea of using antique commemorative monuments as models for modern monuments appeared again in a later work, the Monument to Wolfe and Montcalm (Fig. 29) erected in Quebec City in 1827. Hawkins, the author of an important work on Quebec's early buildings, described the origins of the ideas of the architect who designed the monuments.

> it... is conspicuous, as it is the only classical, ornament of the city. It was originally designed by Captain, now Major Young, of the 79th or Cameron Highlanders,... an officer whose taste had been greatly cultivated by foreign travel; and is a combination of various beautiful proportions to be found in some of the celebrated models of antiquity.... Indeed the truly Attic elegance and simple grandeur of this obelisk, ... desires the grateful commemoration of every liberal mind.[2]

The obelisk form to which Hawkins made reference is a tall, four-sided pillar of stone originally used by the ancient Egyptians, whose culture was closely associated with those of ancient Greece and Rome in the minds of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europeans. The obelisk became popular in Europe after a giant obelisk was seized in Egypt by Napoleon and brought back to France to be erected in the Place de la Concorde where it stands today. The forms of Egyptian architecture were often used for funerary monuments, and the obelisk made an ideal tombstone. Since the two commanders to whom this monument was dedicated died in battle, the choice of the Egyptian obelisk was singularly appropriate.

The triumphal gate was the other form used by the ancient Romans to mark important historical events. We have already examined the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 8), and gateways like it were erected by the Romans both as purely decorative free-standing arches and as functioning gates set within the defensive walls of ancient Roman cities. They had either three arched openings, or a single arched opening flanked by columns. Magnificent new gates (Fig. 30) were installed in the walls of Quebec City during the early nineteenth century. Gates were erected in nearly every British fortified installation in the colonies, the Citadel in Quebec and Fort



28. Nelson's Monument, Notre-Dame Street, Montreal, Quebec
Constructed 1809 by William Gilmore; **Architect** Robert Mitchell; **Material** stone and Coade stone. The earliest Neoclassical monument in Canada was Nelson's Monument in Montreal, erected only four years after the Battle of Trafalgar (making it earlier than Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square), from designs by British architect Robert Mitchell. A statue of Nelson stands atop a column, after the model of Trajan's Column in Rome (Fig. 9). The Tuscan order of Nelson's Column was also used on gateways of military fortifications, such as the Dalhousie Gate of the Quebec Citadel. The base of this column is ornamented with wreaths, swags and armaments cast in Coade stone imported from London, the earliest of the artificial building materials. The panels commemorate the Battle of the Nile, the Battle of Copenhagen and the Battle of Trafalgar. Decorative devices include cannon, anchors, a crocodile and naval wreaths, and Nelson stands beside a broken mast, surrounded by tackles, blocks and ropes. The architect cleverly cut the base of the column to resemble a coil of rope. (Public Archives Canada, PA 87796)

Henry in Kingston being two examples. All of them were the work of the Royal Engineers who, when Britain's world-wide empire was at its peak, were well-travelled and experienced builders indeed. Hawkins describes the Palace Gate of Quebec City as follows:

> This (gate) has lately been rebuilt, and is the most classical and beautiful of the five gates of QUEBEC. Though perfectly strong for all purposes of defence, it has a light and airy appearance, not unlike in design one of the gates of Pompeii.[3]

The Palace Gate uses the same three-arch composition as the Arch of Constantine, but is of course smaller in scale and simpler in execution. The joints of the masonry are deeply cut, creating a network of lines across the surface which we will come to recognize as characteristically Neoclassical. The surfaces of the stone are lightly rusticated, giving the building a stern elegance appropriate to its dual role of defensive gate and city ornament.

The buildings of the 1820s and 1830s are in the conservative strain of the Neoclassical style. Antique details decorate the building, while a Neoclassical taste for linearism smooths out a basically Palladian three-part elevation. The court house in Saint John (Fig. 31) has a fine set of Doric pilasters in the

second storey of the centre-piece. The Palladian base of the building has lost much of its sculptural rusticity, and it has been smoothed out by channelled stonework instead. The whole surface is much flatter, more linear, with shallow mouldings carved around the windows and flattened panels set in the attic storey of the centre-piece.

An underlying Palladianism characterizes the elevation of McGill College (Fig. 32) as well, although if the centre pavilion of the building had been erected without its attic storey as originally intended,[4] the three-part Palladian elevation of rustic, *piano nobile*, and attic would not have been so marked. Strongly Palladian also is the overall composition of a centre block flanked by prominent side pavilions. Nevertheless, there is enough prescient Neoclassicism in this building to alter the handling of the elevation. Again the foundation storey has been smoothed out and linearized, and the centre-piece flattened against the walls as though drawn here. Broad, flat end pilasters frame the corners of the building, replacing the corner quoins of Palladiansim.

The debates that centred around the design of the Quebec Parliament Buildings (Fig. 33) underline the shift in taste from the Palladian to the Neoclassical. There were those who

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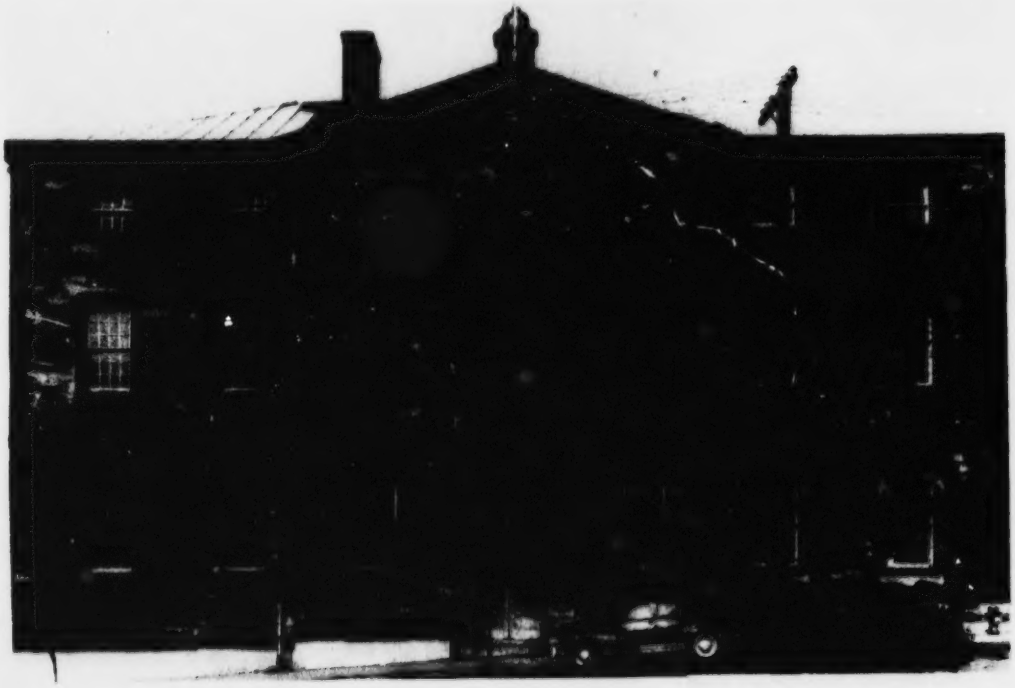
29. Monument to Wolfe and Montcalm, Dufferin Terrace, Quebec City, Quebec
Constructed 1827-28 by John Phillips, mason; **Architect** Captain John Crawford Young; **Material** stone. Assigned to erect a monument to commemorate the gallantry of Generals Wolfe and Montcalm, Captain Young of the 79th Highlanders followed precedent in turning to an antique source, the Egyptian obelisk, as the model for his column, for "Memorials, of a purely classical nature have generally been the works of posterity...." One writer called the monument "a chaste and well-proportioned obelisk,..." altogether a "chaste and appropriate design...." A Latin inscription memorializes Wolfe and Montcalm. Other classical monuments followed during the Neoclassical era, including the Temperance Monument at Beauport, and Charles Baillairgé's Grecian Doric Monument aux Braves, Quebec. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

30. Palace Gate, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed 1829 by William Mountain, William McKeown, Robert Milburn, William Prescott and W. Pariston; **Demolished** 1873; **Architect** designed by the Royal Engineers; **Material** stone. The Palace Gate had the smoothly channelled ashlar masonry, and the subtly carved shallow panels then in favour with Neoclassicists. A characteristic motif of Neoclassical architecture was a stringcourse that cut across the facade at the level of the springing point of the arches (that is, the point at which the vertical of the opening ends, and the curve of the arch begins). The Palace Gate was not the only classical gate in the city of Quebec, although it was perhaps the most correct: the Dalhousie Gate at the Citadel is framed by paired Tuscan columns, and presents an image of rustic power considered appropriate for works having a military purpose. The Corps of Royal Engineers who erected the Palace Gate was a remarkable body of soldiers. Trained in Woolwich, England, in all aspects of military and civil engineering, this group of men was responsible for the fortifications, bridges, canals and many of the public buildings throughout Britain's world-wide empire. Before the arrival of architects into Canada in the 1830s, the Royal Engineers were the only formally trained builders in Canada and were therefore responsible for much of our early architecture. Besides the numerous forts and canals, Royal Engineers erected the Government Houses in St. John's, Fredericton and Halifax, Province House in Halifax, Holy Trinity Chapel (Fig. 99) in Quebec City, the Arts Building of the University of New Brunswick, the Stone Frigate in Kingston, the Monument to Wolfe and Montcalm (Fig. 29) and many more structures (*see* Nathalie Clerk, "Le style palladien dans l'architecture au Canada"). (Archives nationales du Québec, Quebec)

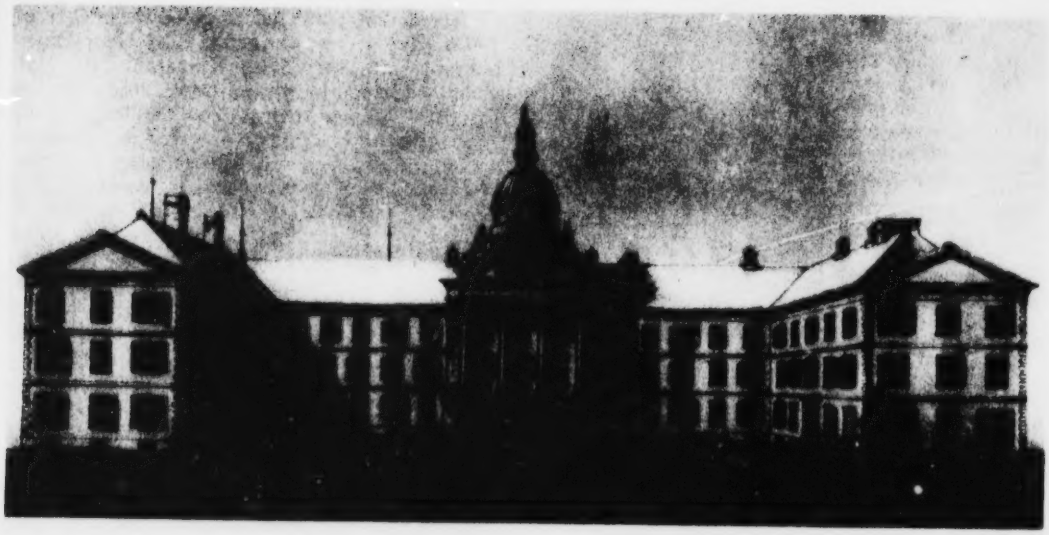
favoured making the base storey taller than the middle storey, which in turn would be taller than the third storey, a typically Palladian hierarchical ordering of the storeys. Others preferred to make all three storeys equal in height[5] which is a Neoclassical tenddency. In the end, most of the building was composed of stories of equal height, while the centre-piece was given the customary rustic under a higher centre storey.



31. Saint John County Court House, 20 Sydney Street, Saint John, New Brunswick
Constructed 1826-29; **Architect** John Cunningham; **Material** stone. The Saint John County Court House represents several public buildings of the 1820s combining elements of the new Neoclassicism while retaining some elements of Palladianism. A high parapet deaccentuates the slope of the roofline, drawing the whole into a neat rectangle, while the linearism of the blind arcades and the use of a heavy Greek Doric pilaster order show the direction in which architects were headed. The three-part elevation with the frontispiece raised to the second storey is still strongly Palladian. Originally the court house had an entranceway reached by a porch, setting the building away from the sidewalk and traffic outside. Although the interior of the building has been significantly altered over the years, it still boasts an elegant spiral staircase. John Cunningham (1792-1872) was born in Dumfrieshire, Scotland, and his presence in Canada is first documented in 1818. Nothing is yet known about his years in Scotland, but he had acquired the ability to build well. He built several houses in Saint John, including the C.J. Peters House (1819, now Knights of Columbus Hall), 937 Cobourg Street and 83 Carleton Street. Among his other works is the Stone Church (1828) of Saint John, a fine Gothic Revival structure. The Chapel of Ease in Grand Manan (1836) and Gannet Rock Lighthouse (1845) are also his work. Cunningham apparently left Saint John about 1845 and spent the rest of his life in Chelsea, Massachusetts. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

Also, the dome that ornamented the centre was originally placed right on the slope of the roofline behind the pediment. A dome growing out of the sloping surface of a gable roof seemed visually illogical to the Neoclassicists since the dome had no apparent support, and so a parapet with antique urns was added over the pediment,[6] to make the dome appear as though it were rising more logically from a flat surface. The Parliament Buildings were given a high roofline favoured by Palladianism and traditional to Quebec architecture. But

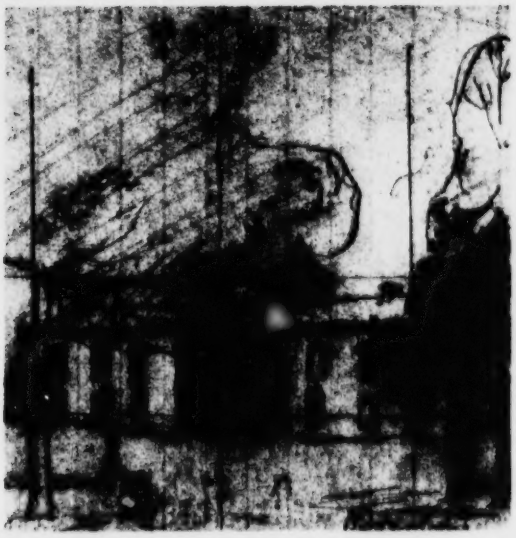
32. Arts Building, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec
Constructed 1839-45; **Architects** John Ostell and George Browne; **Material** stone. A generous endowment by John McGill allowed Montreal to begin McGill College (now University). John Ostell won the architectural competition of 1838 and began construction the following year. Like his earlier Montreal Custom House, Ostell planned a building reminiscent of Palladianism in its three-part elevation and hipped roof, while the space allowed Ostell to plan flanking pavilions. A fine linear treatment of the surface is thoroughly Neoclassical, however; so also is the stylar treatment of the facade on the one flanking pavilion (*right*) that Ostell completed. George Browne took over the project before its completion and added the third storey to the centre section. A western pavilion (*left*) was added later. The building still stands as the central building of McGill University, although it has been drastically altered over the years. John Ostell was born in 1813 in London, England, where he trained as an engineer and architect, before arriving in Canada in about 1835. Besides public buildings like the Arts Building of McGill University and the custom house, he also worked as the architect for the diocese of Montreal from 1840 to 1852, erecting the towers and presbytery of Notre-Dame, the Episcopal Palace, the facade of the Church of the Visitation at Sault-au-Recollet, and Notre-Dame-de-Grace. With son-in-law Maurice Perrault, Ostell built the court house, the Church of Saint Jacques, the Church of Sainte-Anne at Point Saint-Charles, and an asylum for the Sisters of Providence. His later years were spent on railway work, until his death in 1892. (Public Archives Canada, PA 62152)



33. Quebec Parliament Buildings, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed 1831-52 by François Fortier and Charles Cazeau; **Demolished; Architects** Thomas Baillairgé, George Browne, Pierre Gauvreau, and Louis Berlinguet; **Material** stone. In 1831 Thomas Baillairgé was commissioned to add a new wing to the northwest of the old Episcopal Palace in Quebec City to accommodate the Assembly of Lower Canada. Louis Berlinguet was commissioned two years later to build the centre section, which contained the actual Assembly Hall. These labours continued until 1844, during which time several changes were made in the original commission. During these years, the old wing of the Episcopal Palace (built in 1693) had been allowed to stand, dilapidated and out of character with the rest of the new structure. Both Baillairgé and the commissioners agitated fruitlessly for a new wing, and Baillairgé finally disassociated himself from the project to protect his professional stature. But finally the old wing could be tolerated no longer. Pierre Gauvreau tore it down in 1850, and two years later George Browne built the companion wing that Baillairgé had sought. Despite a construction period of over twenty years, despite the complications involved in building around an older structure, and despite the changes in hands and changes in design, the Parliament Building was a handsome design that met with approval. Anticipating the results, Hawkins wrote "...the facade ... is imposing from its strength and loftiness, and from the dome and spire with which it is crowned. Four massive cut pillars support a pediment, within which will be contained the Imperial Arms of Great Britain....." Later, Buckingham noted that "The architecture is of the Ionic order, with a good portico and pediment." The treatment of the base of the centre-piece, the low gable ends, and the urn offset the eighteenth century U-plan high roofline and corner quoins. (Royal Ontario Museum)

Neoclassicists preferred low rooflines whose slopes were at the same shallow angle as the antique pediment. In this way the roofline and pediment (which after all is nothing more than an ornamented gable end) were logically united to each other. In the 1850s, the low



34. Peterborough County Court House, 50 Water Street, Peterborough, Ontario

Constructed 1838-42 by Thomas Harper and B. Bletcher; **Architect** Joseph Scobell; **Material** stone. Sir Sandford Fleming's 1846 diary sketch of the Peterborough County Court House shows the type of public building that appeared in several communites in Ontario during the Neoclassical era. A long rectangular block is preceded by a monumental portico, and capped by a cupola. The type can be seen in many other examples, including the court houses of Perth County, Leeds and Grenville County, Hastings County, Eastern District County, Norfolk County and Wentworth County. Designed by John Scobell in 1838, it has been extensively altered since. The cupola was removed in 1878-79, and restoration of an uncertain extent was required after a fire in 1917. Further additions were made in 1927 by architect James Finnie, and again in 1960 by architects Craig and Zeidler. (Public Archives Canada, MG29, A8, Vol. 80, Fleming Papers, "Sketch of the Colborne District Court house, 1846")

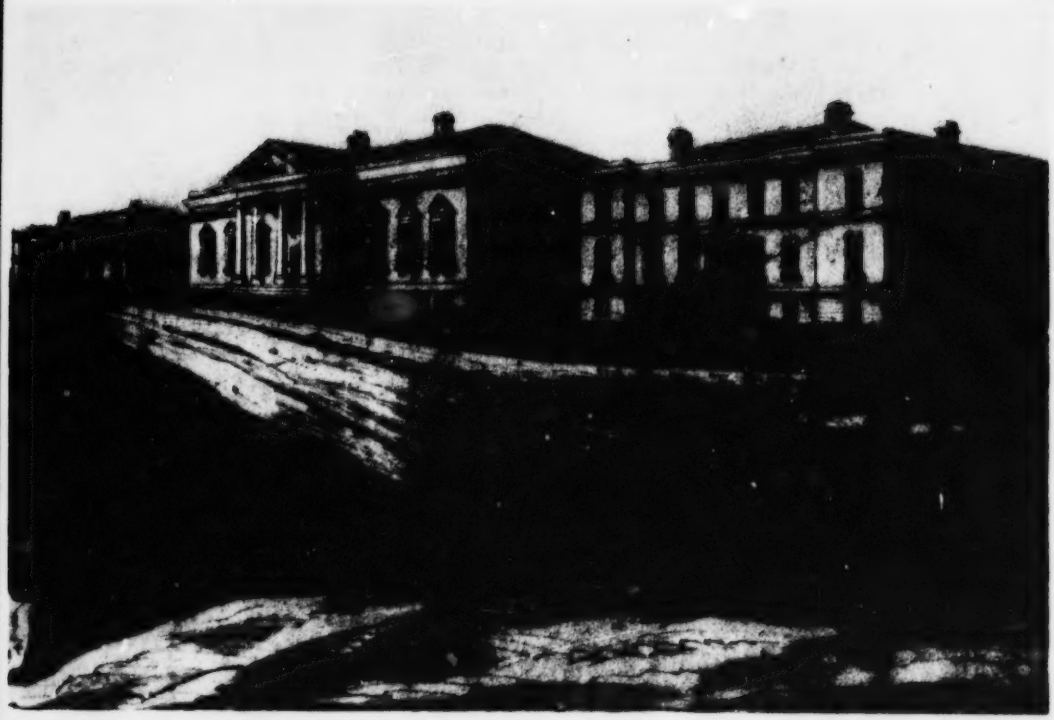
pediments that we see in our illustration were put up before the steep roofline; the intent was Rationalism - the result was anything but.

The transitional buildings of the 1820s and 1830s gave way to the more fully Neoclassical buildings of the 1840s; Kingston City Hall, which we have already examined in detail, was foremost among them. The buildings of the 1840s characteristically are in the Chambersonian mode, retaining in shadow the hierarchical Palladian elevation, although with a tendency to equalize the storeys, while the heavy base is underplayed by channelling of the masonry. Antique details are frequently used, along with other details favoured by the Neoclassicists, such as fanlights, blind arcades, framing end pilasters, and lowered rooflines. The columns of the centre-piece usually rise directly from the ground. We see this Chambersonian mode in the public buildings erected in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes.

In the burgeoning small towns of Ontario many monumentally sized public buildings appeared in the 1840s: court houses, town halls, customs houses and the like. Peterborough County Court House (Fig. 34) is a good example of the type, having a colossal, ground to roofline central order placed before a long, rectangular building, crowned with a shallow dome or cupola. Like most of its contemporaries in Ontario, the Peterborough building was stone.

Toronto's 1832 Parliament Building (Fig. 35) fit within the mold as well, although it was erected in brick rather than stone, because of the lack of a good local building stone and an abundance of excellent brick clay. We recognize the Palladian format of centre building with flanking pavilions; however, there is no longer any rustic storey and on the pavilions the two remaining storeys are equal in height. The centre block contained only assembly halls and so there is only a single range of tall windows. Slight projections create a linear play on the surface, and a parapet hides the slope of the roofline. In our illustration, a free-standing portico precedes the entrance: the portico was intended but never erected.

French and English architects in Quebec designed their Neoclassical buildings in much the same manner. They equally used a conservative Cambersonian elevation, while retaining certain features traditional to Quebec architecture such as casement windows and steep rooflines. The centre-piece of Thomas Baillairgé's Saint-Roch Convent

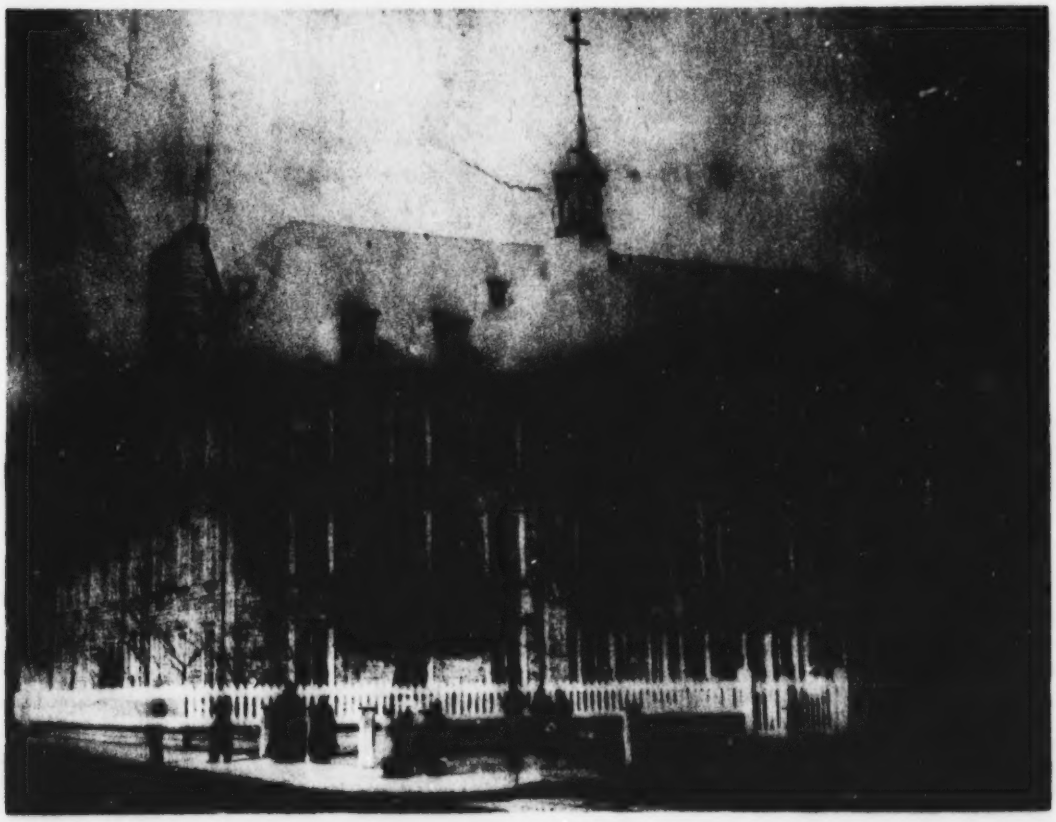


35. Parliament Buildings, Toronto, Ontario
Constructed 1832 by Ewart, Parkes and Priestman, superintending; Turton, mason; Joseph Crowther, carpenter; **Burned** 1904; **Architect** T. Rogers. Unlike many public buildings erected elsewhere in Canada, the Parliament Buildings in Toronto were brick rather than stone, which was the logical material in an area supplied with good brick clay but virtually no building stone. Most public buildings in the vicinity, including the court house, the jail and Upper Canada College, were also brick and all used sparingly white stone for mouldings and trim, creating a polychromatic effect typical of the Toronto area. The bizarre, over-sized pedimental windows are unique to this structure. The assembly rooms were to either side of the main entrance of the centre section and the centre section was linked to the two office wings by recessed corridors, not visible here. Toronto's first Parliament Building of 1794 was burned by the Americans in 1813. For years the government sat in a variety of temporary quarters, while various plans were put forward for a new structure. Several people have been credited with its design, although an architect named Rogers, probably Thomas Rogers, was paid for a set of plans. John G. Howard worked on the structure throughout the 1830s. During its chequered history, it was a barracks, a court house, a medical school, an asylum, and from 1867 to 1892 the Ontario legislature. Thereafter it was abandoned, and burned in 1904. (Royal Ontario Museum)

(Fig. 36) has an underlying, three-part elevation, although the base is not very distinct from the rest of the building. Shallow, linear pilasters accentuate the centre, and blind arches frame the ground-floor windows. The massive blockishness of the building has as

much to do with traditional Quebec seminary building as it does with contemporary public design. The architect retained the traditional rough stone surface and high roofline of Quebec architecture.

English architects practising in Quebec worked in a similar manner. Blaiklock's custom house (Fig. 37) illustrates a linear treatment of the wall surface through the use of a shallow pilaster order and blind arcade.



36. Saint-Roch Convent, Église Street, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed 1844; Demolished; Architect Thomas Baillairgé; **Material** stone. The facade of the Saint-Roch Convent is a fine example of Neoclassical linearism. The frontispiece has been reduced to a simple order of vertical strips, similar to pilasters, but without bases or capitals. This treatment unites agreeably with the high roofline and casement windows of traditional Quebec architecture. A Palladian window and an oval window recall the English influence brought to Quebec earlier by the Palladian style. The steeple resembles the steeples erected on Quebec churches of the era; the building has solidity and massiveness typical of the province's convent and seminary architecture. (Public Archives Canada, C-8618)

37. Custom House, Quebec City, Quebec

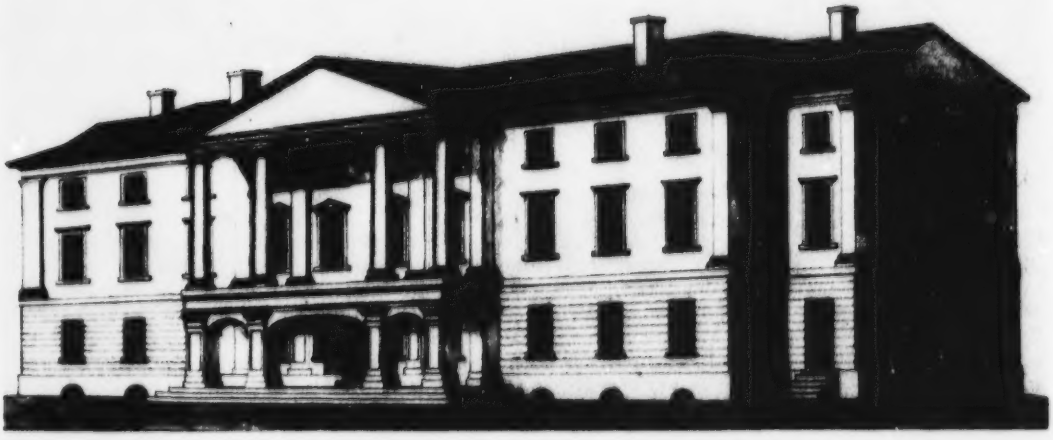
Constructed 1830-39 by Joseph Clarke and Teavil Appleton; **Architect** Henry Musgrave Blaiklock; **Material** stone. Neoclassical buildings in Quebec, whether built by English or French architects, were stylistically consistent. A linear, applied pilaster order focuses attention on the centre section of the building, making this structure comparable in composition to the Saint-Roch Convent (Fig. 36). Originally, a more monumental effect had been intended: wings were planned but never built, and a free-standing portico with pediment of the Grecian Doric order similarly was unachieved. Henry Musgrave Blaiklock (ca. 1790-1843) was another English-born and -trained architect; although his London career is unknown, he seems to have arrived in Quebec ca. 1823. He was a civil draughtsman and clerk of works for the Royal Engineers Civil Establishment, and pursued commissions on the side. Among Blaiklock's works are the Quebec Exchange, the Marine Hospital (Fig. 30), the Montreal jail and the prison at Pied-au-Courant. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

The roofline was originally at a higher pitch characteristic of Quebec architecture. Notably the rusticated base has been eliminated, and the remaining two storeys are equal in height.

In the Maritimes large Neoclassical public buildings in the conservative mode were erected in stone in the cities, while a small, modest wooden version appeared in rural areas. In the former category are Province House (Fig. 38) in Charlottetown and the Colonial Building (Fig. 39) in St. John's. Province House is the more conservative of the two, having a more marked Palladian elevation; the order is even raised upon a base. The stonework is smoothed out, however, and elliptical arcades support the centre-piece. The order is Greek Ionic.

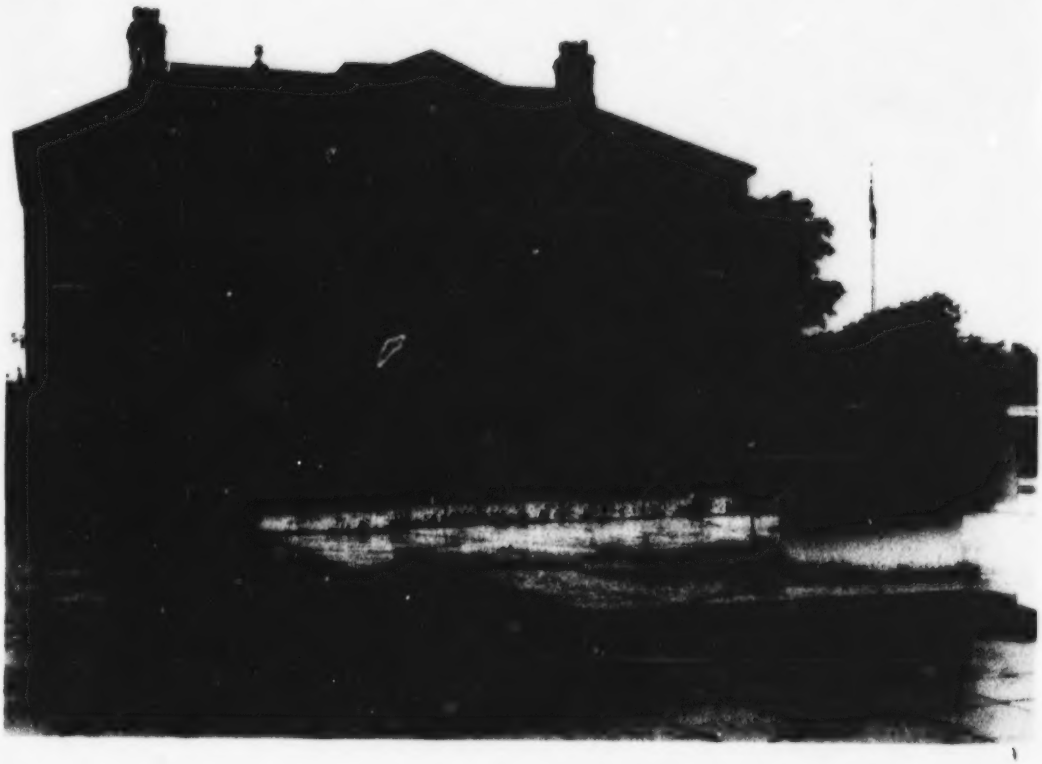
The Colonial Building in St. John's is more advanced stylistically than the Charlottetown building, although it also has a channelled storey. The two storeys are roughly equal in height, pilasters frame the ends of the building, and the colossal order, which is Greek Ionic rises through the two principal storeys from the steps.

Similar features appear in rural Maritime public buildings, although they were smaller buildings. An architectural style intended for stone is translated into wood. Charlotte County Court House is a neat rectangular structure preceded by a free-standing, ground-to-cornice-line portico (Fig. 40). The ground storey has been eliminated, and wide end pilasters frame the building. On the whole, the formula of conservative Neoclassicism could be successfully abbreviated and adapted to small structures, giving minor public buildings an impressive sense of monumentality and importance.



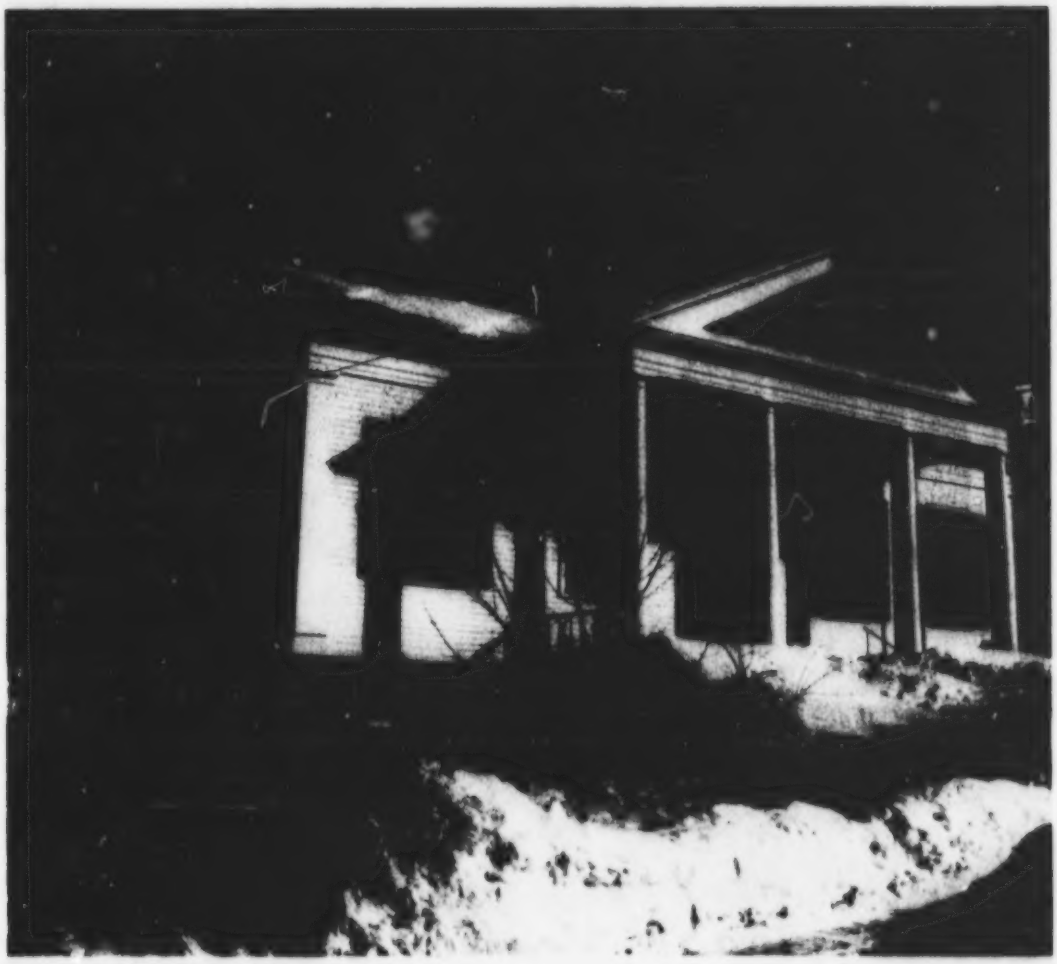
38. Province House, 165 Richmond, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island

Constructed 1843-48; **Architect** Isaac Smith; **Material** stone. One of the finest of Canada's Neoclassical public buildings is Charlottetown's Province House and it exemplifies in many ways the characteristics of conservative Neoclassicism. The three-part elevation, smoothed out and linearized, is a surviving feature of Palladianism. Conservative also is the elevation of the portico on an arcaded base, and the pediments placed over the centre and end windows. But the elliptical curves of the arcaded base of the portico, and the unfluted Greek Ionic columns are thoroughly Neoclassical. The whole has been executed in exceptionally fine ashlar masonry. Isaac Smith was very active in the local building community. He worked on the Charlottetown jail (1830), general repairs on the Charlottetown Court House and the earlier House of Assembly, and the Market House (1832). With Henry Smith and Nathan Wright he constructed the P.E.I. Government House (1835), with its fence, coach house and stables. (Public Archives Canada, C-7156)



39. Colonial Building, 78 Military Road, St. John's, Newfoundland

Constructed 1847-50 by Patrick Kough, mason; **Architect** James Purcell; **Material** stone. One of the best preserved of Canada's major Neoclassical public buildings is the Colonial Building in St. John's, Newfoundland. An 1850 description of the building remains valid: "The facade of the Building, which forms the principal entrance consists of six massive columns of the Ionic order, which are finely proportioned and surmounted by a pediment containing the Royal Arms, highly relieved." The architect was James Purcell of Ireland, and there is an affinity between the Colonial Building and certain of Dublin's Neoclassical monuments, especially Thomas Cooley's Royal Exchange (1769-79), in the handling of the channelled masonry base framed by wide end pilasters. Also, the stone for the building was imported from Ireland. No major repairs were made until the 1950s and 1960s, when the original Irish masonry was replaced by Ontario limestone. Murals were added in 1880 by a Polish painter, Pendikowski. Newfoundland's architectural development began slowly, impeded as it was by a ban on permanent settlement. Of the buildings erected in St. John's before mid-century, few survived a devastating fire in 1892. Important early structures include Admiralty House, Government House, and the Colonial Building; 297 Water Street (1847) was one of the few Neoclassical commercial buildings to survive. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)



40. Charlotte County Court House, 123A Montague Street, St. Andrew's, New Brunswick

Constructed 1839-40 by Thomas Berry; **Material** wood. The Charlotte County Court House is one of several similar public buildings erected throughout the Maritimes, the first of which was the Sunburry County Court House of 1833. This group of buildings had a single storey and a gable roof, with the entrance on the long side under a large portico. The earlier Sunburry and the Carleton County Court House (1833) had corner quoins and keyed voussoirs, both eighteenth century features, whereas the later ones of the 1840s and 1850s had plain window mouldings and smooth end boards cut to resemble corner pilasters. Invariably an impressive portico and an elevated site give these otherwise modest wooden buildings considerable presence in their communites. The Charlotte County Court House boasts a finely carved coat of arms in the pediment. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

Conservatism is the hallmark of most of the Neoclassical public buildings erected in Canada. As our examples have shown, their stylistic expression remains basically consistent from region to region, varied only by minor local interpretations. A smaller number of public buildings reflects the rationalist and Picturesque approaches to design initiated by Soane and Nash.

Public and commercial buildings erected in Canada following the school of Soane, Nash and company were few indeed; perhaps colonials found this version of the Neoclassical style too radical or too erudite for their evidently conservative tastes. Nevertheless, there were a number of public and commerical structures built that follow this particular British school. The design of some buildings suggests a strict rationalism, with a flair for mathematical and geometrical precision characteristic of this strain of the style. Other buildings apply some of the ideas of the Picturesque to classical architecture, in the handling of the masses that make up the building to create pictorial effects, or in the way the buildings are sited. These buildings were the works of very sophisticated architects, who based their ideas on buildings they had seen in England, or perhaps in Soane's published books. The application of rational and Picturesque ideas to public and commercial buildings was not commonly done, and since these buildings were so few, no generalization can be made about regional variations. They were built only in major urban centres, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec City and Saint John.

To demonstrate the differences in taste between the more conservative branch of Neoclassicism and its advanced, rational side, we can examine a proposal made in 1855 to rebuild Osgoode Hall in Toronto. The 1844 building (Fig. 41) was typically conservative. The elevation consisted of a prominent rustic, a high principal storey and a small attic storey. A high parapet deaccentuated the roofline, and an even cornice line drew the whole building together. The U-shaped elevation created by the prominent end pavilions was strongly reminiscent of the Strand elevation of Chambers's Somerset House.

By 1855 the building was found by its occupants to be too small and too old-fashioned. Asked to comment on the building, Hopkins, Lawford and Nelson of Montreal proposed a very different elevation (Fig. 42). They compared the existing building with the one they proposed.

> The style of architecture of the present building is unappropriate to the purposes of Courts of Law, from its too great lightness, and we consider that for such a city as Toronto, and for such a building as the Law Courts perhaps the most important in the place, a more massive and more imposing style should be adopted.[7]

Hopkins, Lawford and Nelson's approach is more precisely rational. They proposed to eliminate the hierarchical arrangement of storeys by making them as equal in height as existing conditions allowed. They planned to cover the surface of the wall with a system of pilaster orders, giving a visual sense of the system of support of the building. They planned to crown the whole with a high parapet hiding the slope of the roof more effectively than the existing arrangement, and the parapet would draw the building into a tight rectangle, reflecting a taste for geometrical composition. The resulting building, if it had been erected, would indeed have been more imposing, more monumental. However, the Law Society of Osgoode Hall opted for a markedly different, more Italianate partial reconstruction by Cumberland and Storm, which is Osgoode Hall as it stands today.

To give a building a sense of structural logic, of supporting and supported elements such as Laugier had proposed, the usual technique was to apply a pilaster order across the facade. Proposed at Osgoode Hall, this technique was put into practice in the Magistrates' Court in Toronto (Fig. 43). A massive order of piers commands the surface of the facade, supporting a broad entablature, while large windows minimize the wall surface to such an extent that it seems to be absent entirely. The court expresses well Abbé Laugier's ideas of a building consisting of supporting and supported elements with nothing superfluous added.

An applied order, however, gives only the appearance of support and as such it was a sham. To be completely logical, a building should be rid of orders leaving the smooth unadorned surfaces of the wall. Laval University (Fig.44) is such a building and shows

architect Charles Baillairgé's understanding of the French rationalist architects Boullée and Ledoux. The building has no governing order whatever, and the blank wall is the ruling element. The single unit of the window has been multiplied almost endlessly resulting in a building that is monolithic and primitive in its elementalism, but in a highly sophisticated manner. It is a rare example of a Canadian building following the school of French Rationalism.

The school of Soane and Nash also concerned itself with theories borrowed from the Picturesque Movement. Although the Picturesque Movement was principally concerned with domestic architecture in rural settings,[8] certain of its ideas were adapted to public and commercial buildings in urban settings. Public and commercial buildings that fit within this mold were meant to harmonize with their cityscapes, much as a picturesque cottage harmonized with its rural landscape. We have already seen how Nash's terrraces and crescents show a taste for the scenic possibilities of the street, and how Soane's Bank of England shapes itself to its built environment, while at the same time being an important formative element of the environment. Any architect who had been in London - and most of Canada's early architects had - would have been aware of Soane and Nash's buildings, and Soane's Bank of England was also illustrated in his books. Although the opportunity rarely arose here to create large buildings that orchestrated whole urban vistas, several buildings were erected demonstrating that architects certainly had this intention in mind.

A major building drawn from the school of Nash and Soane was the Saint John Custom House (Fig. 45). The architect based his design on that of Carleton House in London,[9] the work of Henry Holland, for whom both Soane and Nash had worked as young men. A remarkably large building for its time, the Saint John Custom House organized the street facade much in the way that Carleton House did. Seen in perspective, the custom house created an interesting vista down the length of the street, and was the principal compositional element of its setting.

The idea of urban composition appears in a more developed form in the Bank of British North America (Fig. 46), built in Toronto by John G. Howard.[10] Howard based the elevation of his bank on that of Soane's Bank of England (Fig. 18), as a comparison of the two elevations shows. Howard uses the same horizontal banding of the stonework, although only in the rustic, and not over the whole facade. From the London building Howard also borrowed flat pilasters, the use of the Corinthian order (rarely seen in Canada), and the scallop over the corner. Like the Soane building, Howard's building was meant to be appreciated in its setting, for he takes full advantage of the corner site on which it was placed. The structure's elevation and height correspond with those of its neighbours, and it

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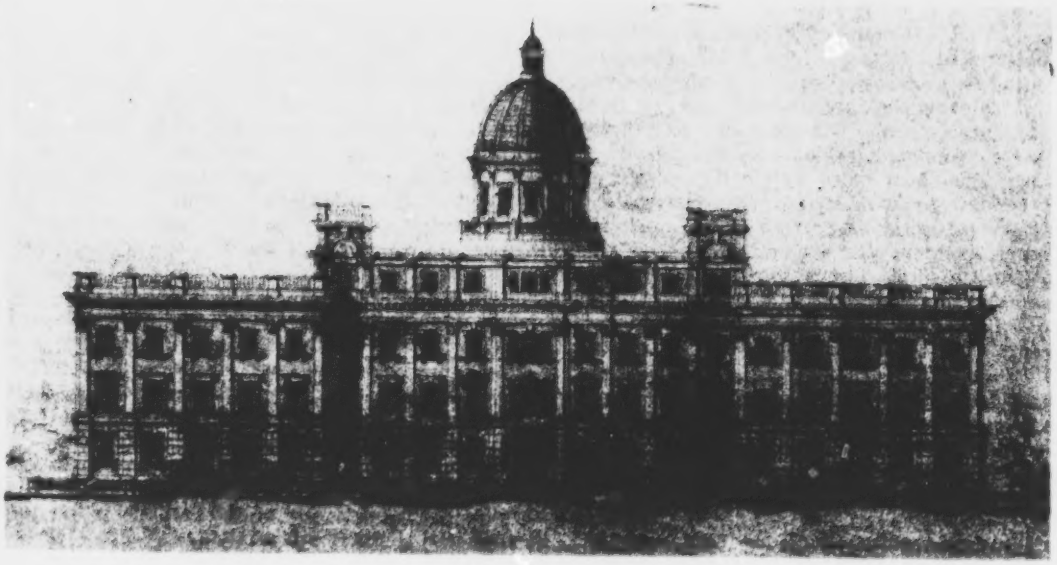
41, 42. Osgoode Hall, Queen Street West, Toronto, Ontario

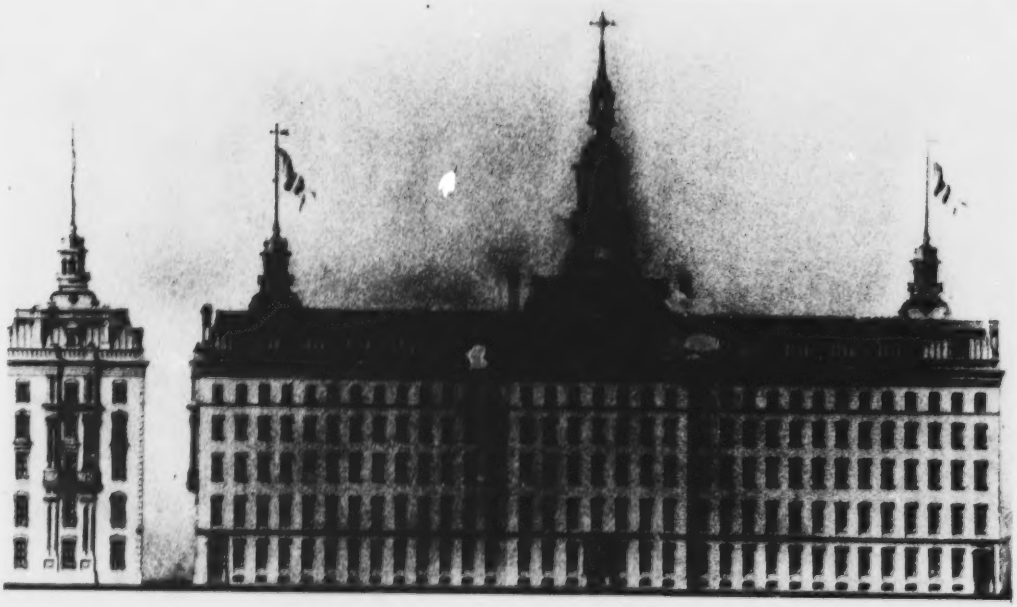
Constructed 1832-58; **Architects** John Ewart, Henry Bower Lane, Frederick William Cumberland, G. Storm; 1855 proposal drawn by Hopkins, Lawford and Nelson; **Material** brick and stone. Figure 41 (*top*) is the Henry Bower Lane building of 1844 drawn by Hopkins, Lawford and Nelson. Figure 42 (*bottom*) is the Hopkins, Lawford and Nelson 1855 proposal. When the Law Society offered to rent space in Osgoode Hall to the government for courtrooms, it was discovered that the Lane building was inadequate in size and appearance. The Board of Works was commissioned to obtain an architect's report on the situation, which they did, from the Montreal firm of Hopkins, Lawford and Nelson. All parties involved agreed with the recommendations for a partial reconstruction, but gave the commission to the local firm of Cumberland and Storm. The Cumberland and Storm centre section was begun in 1856, with the principal work completed by 1858; Storm worked on the interior fittings off and on during the rest of his career. Their work suggests the Italianate more than the Neoclassic. Further additions were made onto the back during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lane came to Canada having already practised in Britain in the office of William Inwood. While his churches were well liked, his public buildings were not. Like Osgoode Hall, his city hall for Toronto was censured for poor design and construction. He returned to England in 1847. (Archives of Ontario)



43. County of York Magistrates' Court, 57 Adelaide Street, Toronto, Ontario
Constructed 1852 by John Ritchie; **Architect** F.W. Cumberland; **Materials** stone and brick. Cumberland borrowed the motif of the ancient temple for the centre section of the court house, reinterpreting the antique columned facade of the temple into an essay of flat, powerful piers and wide entablature. The piers are so weighty, so enormous that the windowed surface between almost disappears leaving only the supporting and supported elements to dominate the composition. The court house originally had a wing on either side, and with their strip pilasters they echoed the centre section in its general form. While the centre section is faced in stone, the wings were brick. A portion of one much-altered wing is on the right. The technique of using two or more portions that seem almost like distinct buildings, joined only by a short bridge of building, to house a single institution was a curious characteristic of Toronto's early architecture; other examples include the first and second Parliament Buildings, and Upper Canada College. Born in London in 1821, F.W. Cumberland had worked as an architect, surveyor and railway engineer before arriving in Toronto in 1847. With recommendations from Sir Charles Barry, the architect of Westminster, Cumberland launched almost immediately into a successful architectural practice. Besides the buildings already mentioned, he also erected St. James Cathedral, University College, University of Toronto Observatory, the Mechanics' Institute, the Central School in Hamilton, and several houses. This work did not inhibit his role as prominent member of the community, for he sat in both the provincial and Dominion parliaments, and on the boards of various commercial and charitable bodies. His interest in railways finally overcame his interest in architecture, and in the late 1850s Cumberland left his practice to devote the rest of his life to rail transportation. He died in 1881. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

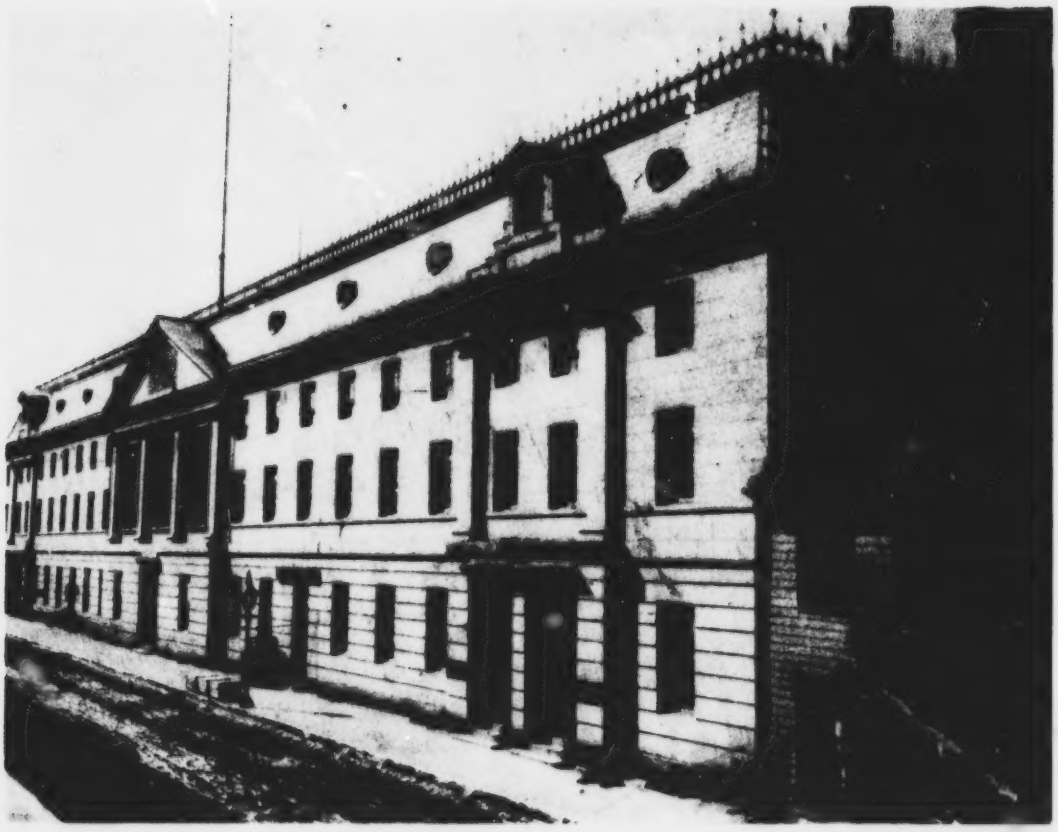
sweeps the eye around the urban setting in a very satisfactory manner.

Although there were not many buildings that applied Picturesque ideas to classical, urban buildings in the manner shown by these examples, several commercial interests found this formula a very satisfactory way to treat a building on a corner lot. Several others were



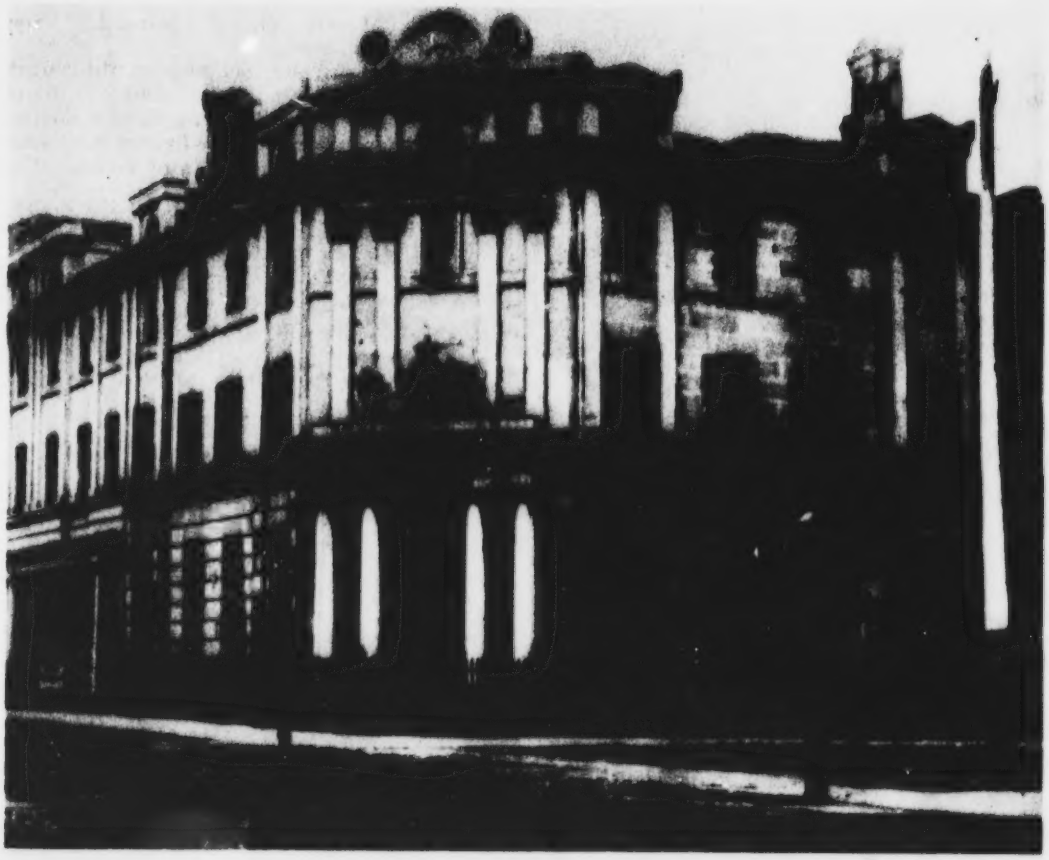
44. Laval University, University Street, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed 1854-56 by Pierre Chateauvert, mason; **Architect** Charles Baillairgé; **Material** stone. Monolithic size, and sheer, unadorned surfaces make Laval University an awesome essay in Boulléesque Neoclassicism. Only two thin stringcourses cross the facade, suggesting a basement and an attic storey. A baseless Greek Doric order with wreaths ornaments the door, and a shallow crest originally topped the roofline. The large scale and simple treatment was sympathetic to Quebec's convent and seminary architecture. The mansard roof was added later, by architect J.-F. Peachy. Architect, engineer, surveyor, teacher and scholar, Charles Baillairgé (1826-1906) was one of Canada's outstanding figures of the nineteenth century. His architectural career began under the tutelage of his uncle, Thomas Baillairgé, and Charles's many works span half a century. Here we have examined only a few: Laval University, the Concert Hall (Fig. 56), Maison Têtu (Fig. 76), and the Manoir Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies (Fig. 73). He was also responsible for the Church of Saint-Jean Baptiste, the Chapel of Bon-Pasteur, the chapel of the Sister of Charity, the Quebec prison, Dufferin Terrace, the Monument aux Braves de 1760, and many other buildings. Along with architect Thomas Fuller, he participated in the erection of the Ottawa Parliament Buildings. Baillairgé taught architecture, surveying and engineering, and published books and articles on mathematics, English grammar, French grammar, hydraulics, and many other subjects. He served as city engineer, and as engineer and surveyor to the Quebec Harbour Commission was president of the Quebec Association of Architects, Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and member of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. He received thirteen medals of honour and seventeen diplomas from countries in North and South America, Europe and Asia. (Archives du séminaire de Québec)



45. Saint John Custom House, Prince William Street, Saint John, New Brunswick **Constructed** 1840-42; **Burned** 1877; **Architect** John Walker; **Material** stone. The Saint John Custom House was a fine, Chambersonian composition, somewhat flattened to accommodate it to its site; it had a linearized facade, with only a suggestion of end pavilions and masonry base. Walker's building was a private speculative venture, erected to induce the government to rent it as a custom house, which it did. The building was one of many excellent, Neoclassical buildings erected in Saint John, including the Saint John County Court House (Fig. 31), The Saint John Mechanics' Institute (Fig. 58), Trinity Church (Fig. 100), and the Germain Street Methodist Church (Fig. 107). The custom house remained a custom house although its ownership changed several times, before the Dominion Government acquired it in 1870 when the mansard roof was added. It was destroyed by the Great Fire of 1877 as was much of Saint John. (New Brunswick Provincial Museum)

built in Montreal and Quebec City, including a very original, vernacular version (Fig. 48). The Victoria and Grey Trust Building (Fig. 47) has the same respect for the elevations and heights of its neighbours, as had the Bank of British North America. Its arcade sweeps the

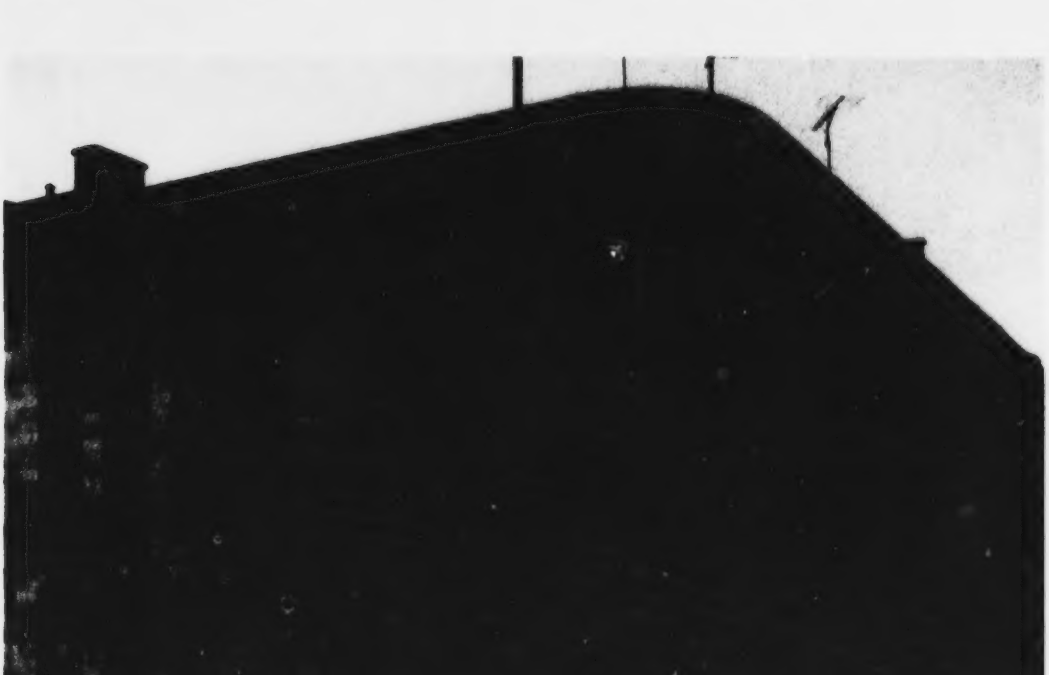


46. Bank of British North America, Yonge and Wellington Streets, Toronto, Ontario **Constructed** 1846; **Demolished** 1871; **Architect** John G. Howard; **Material** stone. The Bank of British North America was designed to fit cunningly into its awkward site, reflecting architect John G. Howard's knowledge of picturesque siting, shown elsewhere in his other buildings, especially in his own home, Colborne Lodge. The bank also underlines Howard's kowledge of Soane's work, for the elevation of the Toronto building is very close to that of the Bank of England (Fig. 18). Indeed, Howard's plans had been sent to the Bank of British North America's directors in England for approval; he simply tailored his plans to the tastes of his audience by modelling his building on the foremost bank building of the day. John George Howard (1803-90) had considerable experience in England as a civil engineer, surveyor and architect before emigrating to Canada in 1832. Almost immediately upon his arrival in Toronto, Howard was appointed drawing master at Upper Canada College. His close political and social affiliations with Upper Canada's ruling clique assured him numerous commissions for public and private buildings; indeed only F.W. Cumberland's practice rivalled Howard's. The Bank of British North America, the Gore Bank (Fig. 49), the provincial asylum, Toronto's second jail, the spire for St. Andrew's Church (Fig. 96) and his own home, Colborne Lodge, are only a few of his many works. (Public Archives Canada, C-4408)

eye around the corner, and physically guides the pedestrian who walks under it.

Canada's Greek Revival public and commercial buildings were of two types: those of British origins, and those of American. In the first category were buildings that drew their inspiration from the school of British Greek Revivalists, Smirke, Wilkins and Cockerell. In the second were those that relied on ideas of Minard Lafever, Henry Barnard, Peter Nicholson and others.

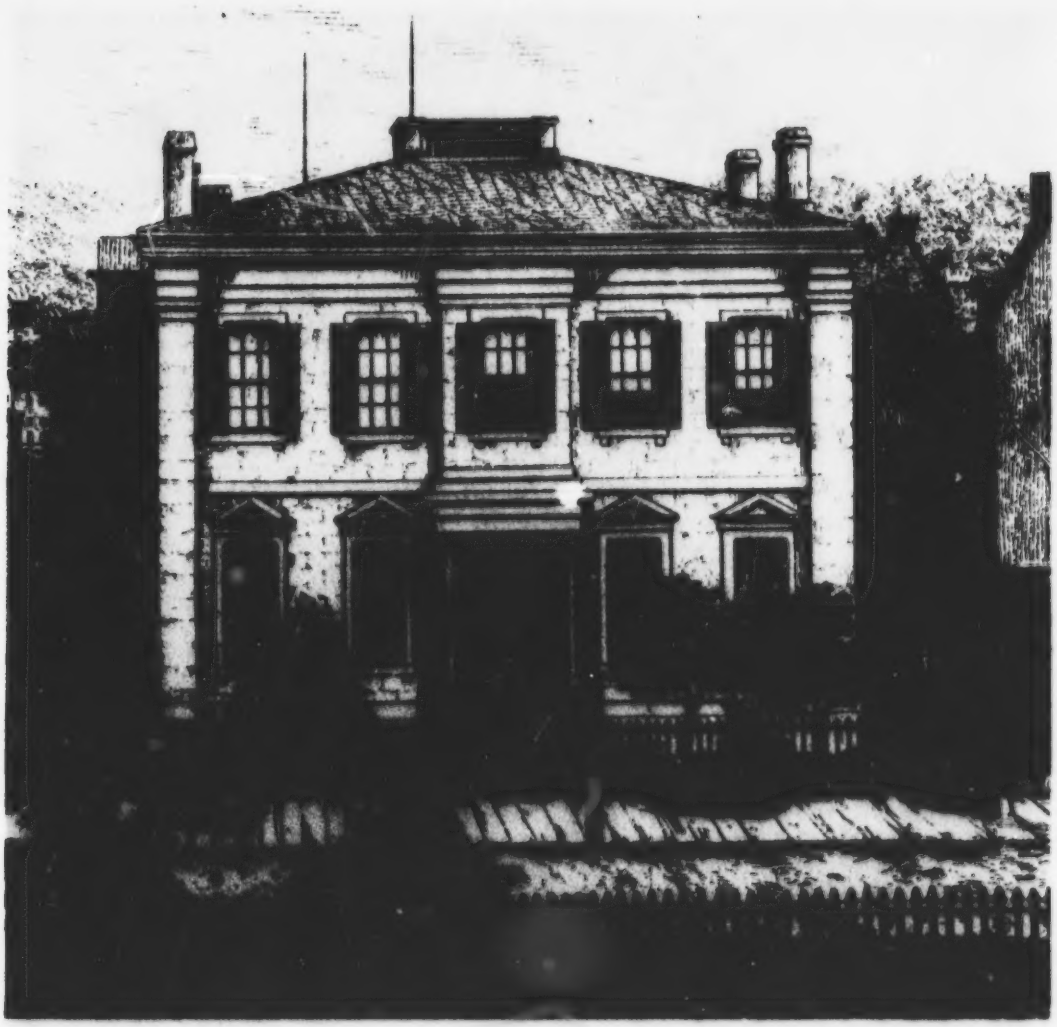
Characteristically, buildings of the British school retain the composition and elevation of the Neoclassical buildings we have examined to date; that is, they usually have a three-part elevation with the suggestion of a channelled



47. Victoria and Grey Trust Building, Kingston, Ontario

Constructed 1842; **Architect** George Browne; **Material** stone. The Neoclassical style gave Canada's early commercial buildings an air of dignity and quiet sobriety. The Victoria and Grey Trust Building is composed of narrow pilasters, leading up to a heavy cornice line. This round-cornered building, whose original entrance was at the corner, is one of three such buildings erected in Kingston by George Browne during the early 1840s. Their large size, covered piers and arcades and graciously sweeping corners helped to organize the urban environment of Kingston, and together with Browne's city hall (Fig. 1) and the works of Browne's imitators, helped make Kingston a surprisingly harmonious city for its small size and relative youth. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

48. 72 Ste-Ursule, Quebec City, Quebec
Constructed 1844-45; **Material** brick. A rounded corner accommodates this modest building to its urban setting in the manner of Browne's Kingston buildings. Otherwise 72 Ste-Ursule is a curious structure indeed, for its system of shallow blind arcades placed on each storey of the facade seems to float on the surface of the wall without the usual stringcourses or applied order to tie the whole design together. Unusual also is the brick construction, making it one of the few brick buildings erected within the walls of Quebec. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)



49. Gore Bank, James and York Streets, Hamilton, Ontario

Constructed 1838; Demolished; Architect John G. Howard. The antique detail used by Howard on the Gore Bank was confined principally to the doorways of the building where Ionic columns flanked a fanlit doorway. Strip pilasters and a wide flat entablature completed the Greek dressing of this standard elevation. Note also the stringcourse dividing the floors, and pediments over the ground-floor windows. This decorative approach to antique detail was entirely characteristic of the British Greek Revival, and of British architects such as Howard. The building stood across the street from Gore Park, a green sward that graced Hamilton's principal street from its earliest days. The bank is gone but the park, much altered, remains. (Public Archives Canada, C-34256)

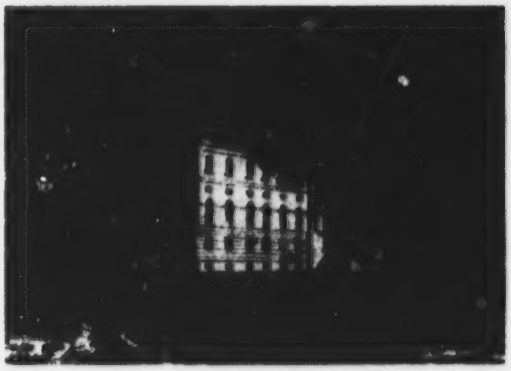
basement storey, and they are long, rectangular buildings with a dominant centre-piece, and sometimes projecting end pavilions. They used Greek decorative details, and eliminated Romanisms, such as arched window openings and domes, replacing them with flat lintels, and cupolas based on the Tower of the Winds or the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates (Figs 5 and 6). We find these buildings in the major urban centres, especially Toronto, Montreal and Quebec City. They are not commonly found in rural areas, nor in the Maritimes.

The description by the architect John Howard of the Gore Bank (Fig. 49) in Hamilton speaks of a combination of Roman and Greek details on the same building. Howard tells us (more clearly than does the illustration) that one facade drew upon Roman Buildings, including the Arch of Titus at Rome (the view seen here), and the circular Temple at Tivoli; but the James Street facade was wholly devoted to the Greek.

> ... the composition is Grecian Doric, it has two columns between the antae after the manner of the ancient order of the Temples, and supported by Antae crowned with a Blocking course which supports a stylobate Scroll and Shalope [*sic*] Shell as introduced by Mr. Soane (President of the Royal Academy) on the Bank of England. Above the projecting parts of the front is raised an Attic terminating with Sarcophaga and Wreath ... the Private Entrance is from a vestibule at the North East Corner under a small Grecian temple.[11]

In composition, however, the Gore Bank remains very like its other Neoclassical brethren.

Neoclassical composition as we have examined it underlies several important buildings having Greek details. The Marine Hospital (Fig. 50) had a three-part elevation with projecting centre-piece, channelled masonry base and an even roofline. However, the proportions of the order were "taken from the Temple of the Muses on the Illissus near Athens."[12] Bonsecours Market (Fig. 51) in Montreal compares interestingly with Kingston City Hall, both built by George Browne. Both have the same composition of large centre-piece, projecting end pavilions and centre dome; however, the decorative theme of the

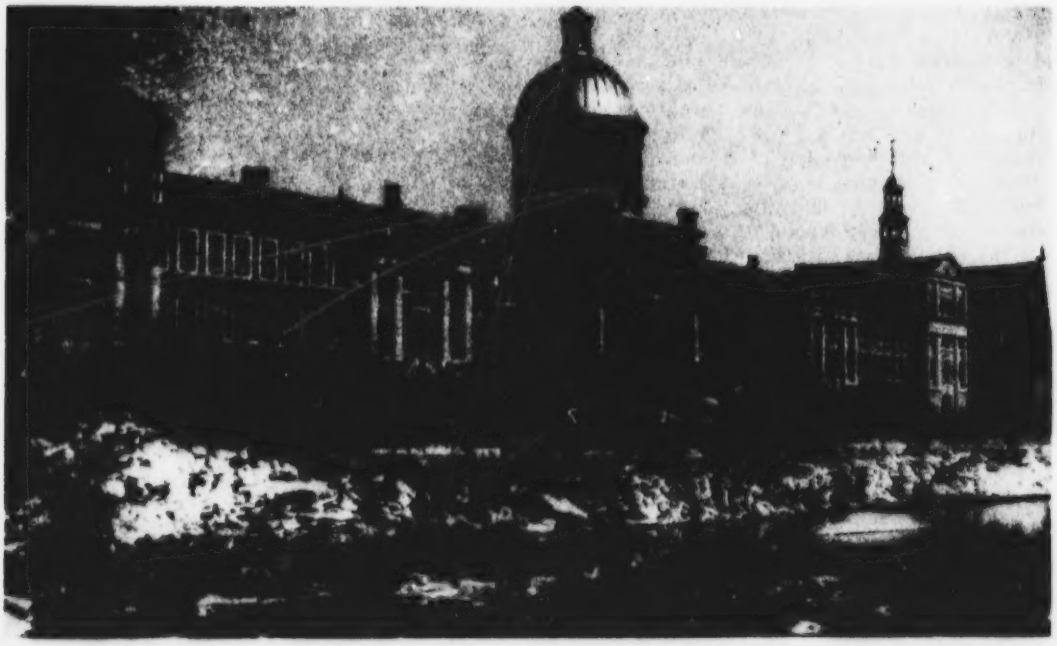


50. Marine Hospital, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed 1831-66 by François Fortier and John Philips; **Demolished; Architect** Henry Musgrave Blaiklock; **Material** stone. "In 1831, it was resolved to erect a Hospital for the reception of sailors and persons coming by sea who might be afflicted by disease,..." wrote Alfred Hawkins, and the result of this resolution was the Marine Hospital, erected near the Saint-Charles River. The centre section and one wing were open for occupancy by 1834, work continued throughout the 1830s and 40s, and architect Pierre Gauvreau carried on Blaiklock's plans by finishing these parts and building the final wing in the 1860s. The Greek detail was the decoration for a building of standard, conservatively Neoclassical design. The building featured an "Ionic Portico with cut stone Architrave frieze Cornice and Pediment according to the Order...," and cast-iron columns. The hospital had many of the details common to Canadian Neoclassicism, and a few others less commonly encountered. We see the typical, horizontally channelled base storey, the blind arcade mouldings with intersecting string-courses, and the linear system of pilasters and entablature. There were a few rarer devices such as recessed panels above and below the main storey windows, round dormers, and a combination of end pilasters and corner quoins, a contradiction indeed. Visible in this particular illustration is a curved projection at the end of one wing. (Alfred Hawkins, ***Hawkins's Picture of Quebec, with Historical Recollections***, Quebec: Alfred Hawkins, 1834, facing p. 261)

Montreal building is Greek. "The proportions of the porticoes are taken from those of the Propylaea of Athens"[13] and the round-headed Roman openings of the Kingston building have been replaced by the flat lintels of the Greek. Standard Neoclassical composition accompanies Grecian decoration in other examples, including the Upper Canada Academy (Fig. 52).

Fully developed Greek decorative

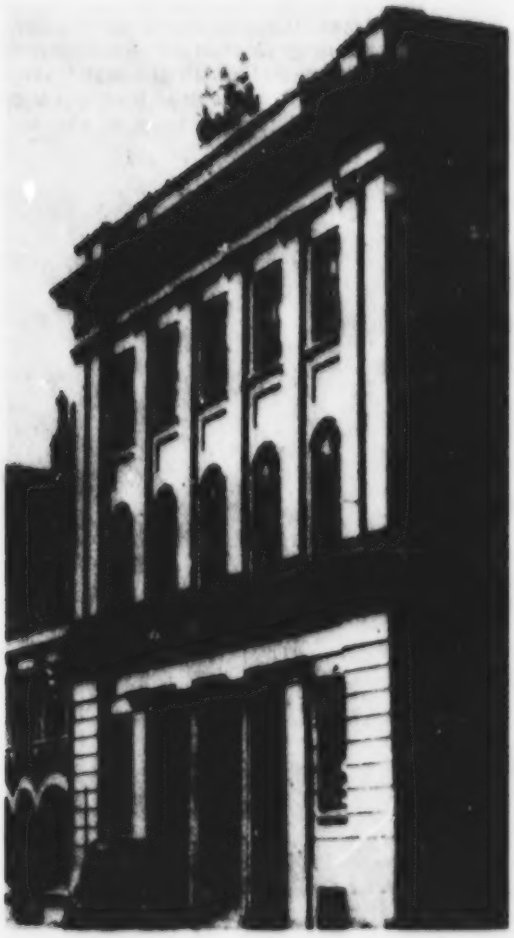


51. Bonsecours Market, 300 Saint Paul Street, Montreal, Quebec

Constructed 1845-52 by Hector Munro and Alexander Kinlock, masons; John and Michael Kelly, carpenters; **Architects** William Footner and George Browne; **Material** stone. The long, horizontal form of the Chambersonian public building underlies the composition of Bonsecours Market. The decorative motifs shift from Roman to Greek notably in the baseless Doric columns, and in the use of flat lintels over the windows rather than Roman arches. Over the pediments at each end rise high attic storeys whose axes are at right angles to the main axis of the building. This is a curious feature unknown to Canada, and found on only one noteworthy building in Britain, George Dance Sr.'s Mansion House in London. Bonsecours Market was begun by William Footner. In 1846 George Browne replaced him but it is difficult to establish just how far advanced construction was at the time of Browne's enstatement, and how much the affinity between the market and Kingston City Hall was his doing. The centre pediment and portico were not built until 1860; its cast-iron columns (not visible in this photo - they are on the St. Paul Street facade) were imported from England. When opened in 1852, Bonsecours Market housed the municipal magistrates, concert hall, reception hall, and it was the home of the public market until 1964. It served as the Parliament of the United Canadas after the burning of the Parliament Building in 1849. The building is presently used for public offices. (Public Archives Canada, PA 62139)

programmes appear on several other buildings, such as the Toronto Exchange, the Bank of British North America, the City Bank of Montreal, and the Quebec Music Hall (Figs 53-56). On these buildings we see the signature motifs of the Greek Revival, the baseless Doric and the Greek Ionic orders. Here also are other Greek features, such as rosettes, anthemia, crestings instead of pediments, *in antis* orders (inset flush with the wall), urns, and door and window mouldings that are wide at the bottom and narrow towards the top,

52. Upper Canada Academy, Cobourg, Ontario
Constructed 1832; **Architect** Edward Crane. The composition of centre portico flanked with slightly projecting end pavilions identifies the Upper Canada Academy as a member of the Chambersonian school of public design, although it has received an admixture of Greek Revival decoration. To conform with the Greek, a cupola derived from the Tower of the Winds crowns the centre, rather than a dome. Compared with the other public buildings of the genre, Upper Canada Academy seems strangely tall, an effect created by building all three storeys to an equal height. The building was erected to house a grammar school, which became Victoria College in 1841. After Victoria College joined the University of Toronto in 1890, the building was used for a provincial hospital. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)



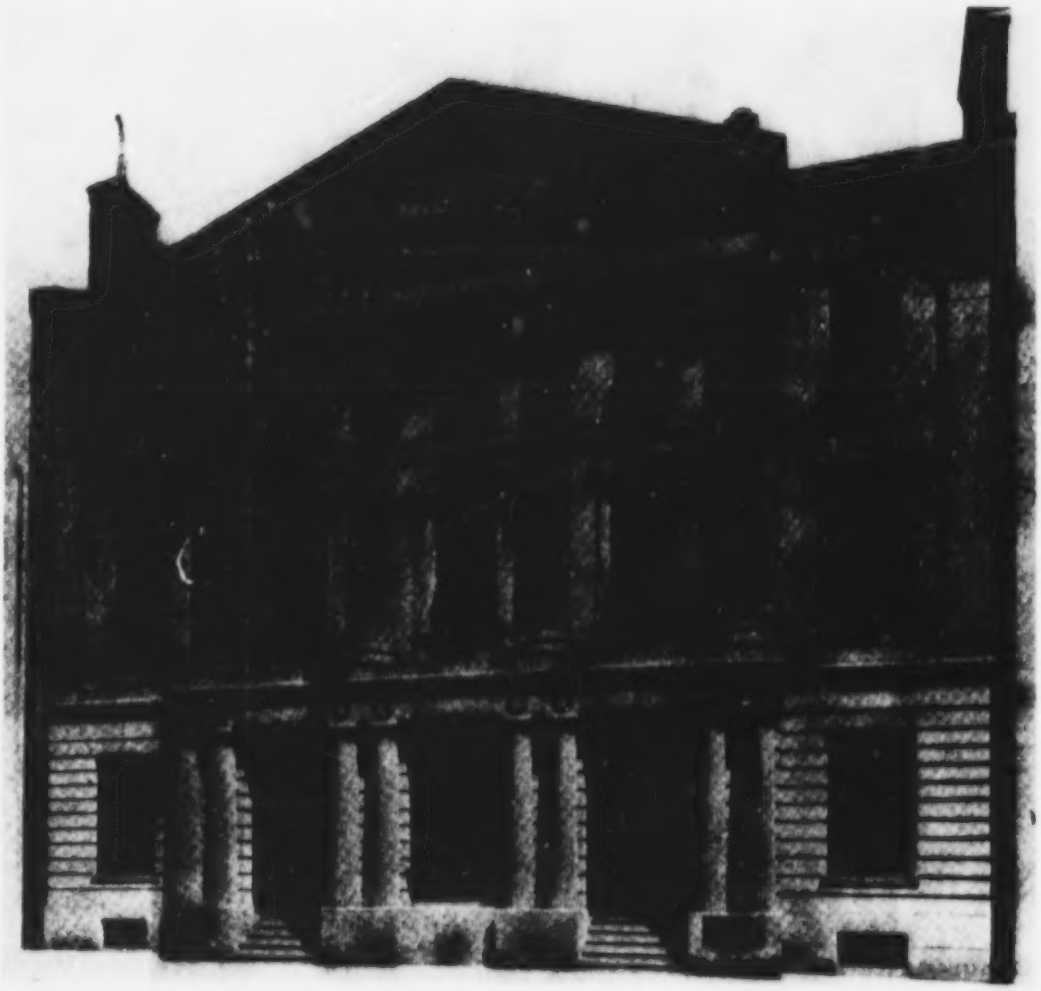
53. Exchange, Toronto, Ontario
Constructed 1853; **Demolished; Architect** James Grand; **Material** stone. As in many Greek Revival buildings of the British stream, the Greek influence was used for its decorative detail and did not govern the composition of the building as a whole, nor did it even rule out the use of Roman motifs. The Toronto Exchange had *in antis* Greek Doric columns, wreaths in the ground storey entablature, and Greek Ionic pilasters, but that was the limit of the Greek influence, for the three-part elevation and round-headed windows were features contemporary to modern architecture, and incompatible with the antique Greek style. Indeed, the general richness of the surfaces was unlike Greek architecture, and aligned the building to some Italianate buildings of that era in Toronto, including the St. Lawrence Hall, and the new Cumberland and Storm centre section of Osgoode Hall. Other similar Greek Revival buildings in Toronto include King's College of 1842 (demolished), and the Commercial Bank of 1845, which still stands. (Public Archives Canada, C-4418)

where they flare out into characteristic Greek eared trim.

Significant differences show up in public and commercial buildings in areas where there is an American presence. In these buildings, the model of the antique temple influences the basic form of the building as well as its decorative details. The Seventh Post Office in Toronto, the Saint John Mechanics' Institute, and the Queens County Court House (Figs 2, 57 and 58) are all drawn from the Greek temple (Fig. 3). Their entrances are on the short facade, the whole building encircled by an entablature that draws the building into a neat, precise rectangle.

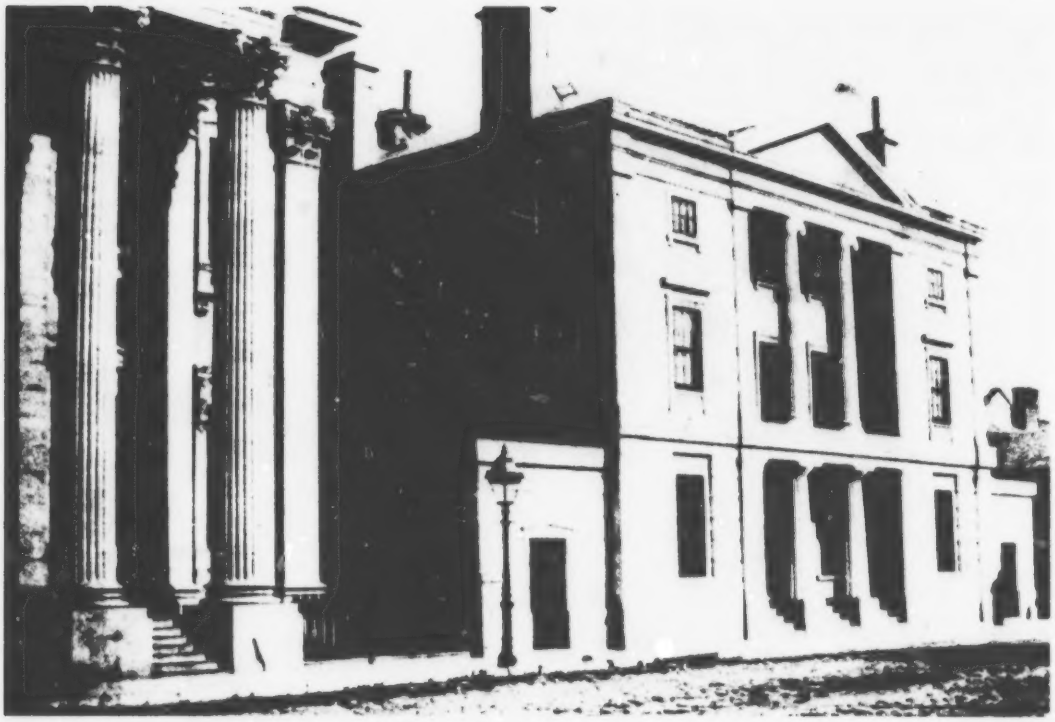
The Greek temple form was very popular for small public buildings erected by local builders. Wooden temples appear in southern Ontario, the Eastern Townships and throughout the Maritimes, all areas where an American presence was strongly felt. Typical are the Normal School in Truro; the Yarmouth Academy, 18 Maple Avenue in North York, Ontario; and the County Building in Brome, Quebec (Figs 59-62). The Normal School in Truro in particular bears an affinity to the work of American architect and author Henry Barnard.[14] The Greek temple plan was an excellent form for the small public building, for it was easily constructed and provided a handsome, dignified facade, while being relatively inexpensive to build.

The picture presented of public and commercial architecture from 1820 to 1860 shows the development of a consistent architectural style based on antique and rational inspiration derived from European and American sources.



54. Bank of British North America, 212-14 Saint-Jacques, Montreal, Quebec

Constructed 1843 by William Hutchison and James Morrison, masons; M. William Spiers, carpenter; **Demolished; Architect** George Dickinson, superintending architect; **Material** stone. In the masonry contract for the Bank of British North America, it was stipulated that the ground floor was to have eight Greek Doric columns, and that certain of the details were to be taken from the Illissus at Athens. Other Greek details applied to this conservative Neoclassical elevation included eared trim, rosettes, wreaths and Greek Ionic columns. Note the use of a very wide entablature which was introduced by the Greek Revival. An identical building was erected in Saint John, New Brunswick, but nothing else is yet known of the twin structure, except that it and Howard's Bank in Toronto were built by the Bank of British North America, a London-based firm founded in 1836. (Public Archives Canada, C-6141)



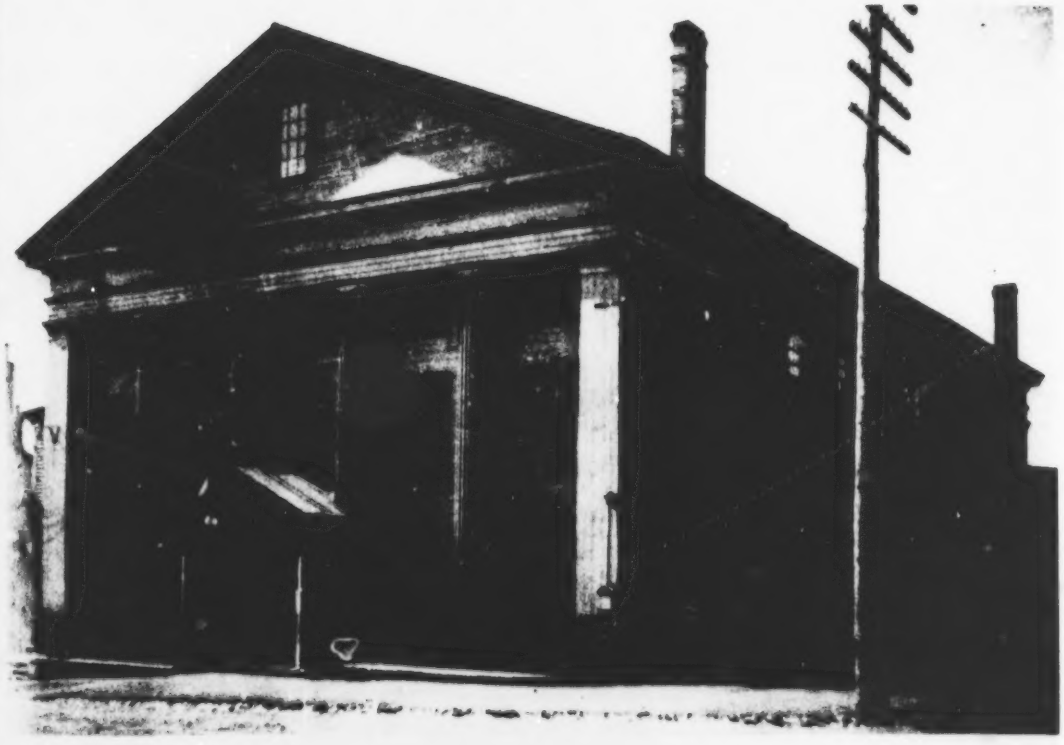
55. City Bank, Place D'Armes, Montreal, Quebec

Constructed 1845; **Demolished; Architects** McFarlane and Goodlate Richardson Browne; **Material** stone. The affinity of the City Bank to the Bank of British North America of the same city is evident in the elevation; the principal difference is that the orders here are *in antis*, rather than flush with the facade. Again the lower order is Greek Doric, single rather than paired columns, while the upper is Greek Ionic. Like many British Neoclassical buildings, these Greek features are applied as details to the three-part, linearized facade typical of Neoclassical public and commercial buildings. Goodlate Richardson Browne (?-1855), apparently a relative of George Browne, arrived in Quebec ca. 1834. He began as a stonecutter of ornamental work, and while George was in Quebec they shared premises for a while. Goodlate practised in Montreal with McFarlane for a few years, erecting there the City Bank, Oddfellows Hall, Unitarian Church, Olympic Theatre, the Scotch Presbyterian Church, the Presbyterian Chapel in Lachine and the Theatre Royal in Toronto. Upon his return to Quebec City in 1848, Goodlate entered into partnership with J.P.M. Lecourt, a relationship that lasted until 1852. Among their other works, they rebuilt Quebec City Hall, and erected the Champlain Market (1860), one of the last of the Chambersonian public buildings in Canada. (Public Archives Canada, C-42721)

56. Concert Hall, 37 Saint-Louis, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed: 1851; **Burned** 1900; **Architect** Charles Baillairgé; **Material** stone. The full panoply of Greek details adorned the Quebec Concert Hall. Along with the inevitable Greek Doric columns, paired on the ground floor as at the Bank of British North America in Montreal, there were windows with eared trim, rosettes, and delicately carved cresting. Although these decorative details were used by British Greek Revivalists, they were also strongly characteristic of the work of Minard Lafever, the doyen of American Greek Revival. However, once again Baillairgé uses Greek decoration on the building as did the British-born architects of the city. The carved lions' heads were an unusual detail, although Baillairgé himself used them again on his Quebec prison. The Concert Hall was hailed as tasteful and elegant. (Public Archives Canada, PA 24091)

57. **Seventh Post Office; 10 Toronto Street, Toronto, Ontario**
Constructed 1853 by Metcalfe, Forbes and Wilson; **Architects** Cumberland and Storm; **Material** stone. In this building the model of the Greek temple is closely imitated. The four giant Greek Ionic columns set *in antis* between two piers form a motif taken directly from the Illissian temple. The windowed wall practically disappears behind the stylar facade, so that one is aware principally of the columns, rather than the wall behind. The Greek features are accurate, although not slavishly copied, for Cumberland and Storm opted for a crest over the centre, rather than an antique pediment. The Seventh Post Office closely resembles the centre section of Cumberland and Storm's York County Magistrates' Court except for the use of columns rather than piers. By 1869 the original Cumberland and Storm building was considered too small, and contractors Withrow and Hillock of Toronto brought the entrance forward level with the columns. Four years later, more alterations were required, this time by architects Langley, Langley and Burke, to accommodate the Assistant Receiver-General, a branch of Internal Revenue, and a branch of Marine and Fisheries. The government vacated the building in 1937, leaving it to the Toronto branch of the Bank of Canada. It is now restored and owned by the Argus Corporation. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building).



58. Mechanics' Institute, Saint John, New Brunswick

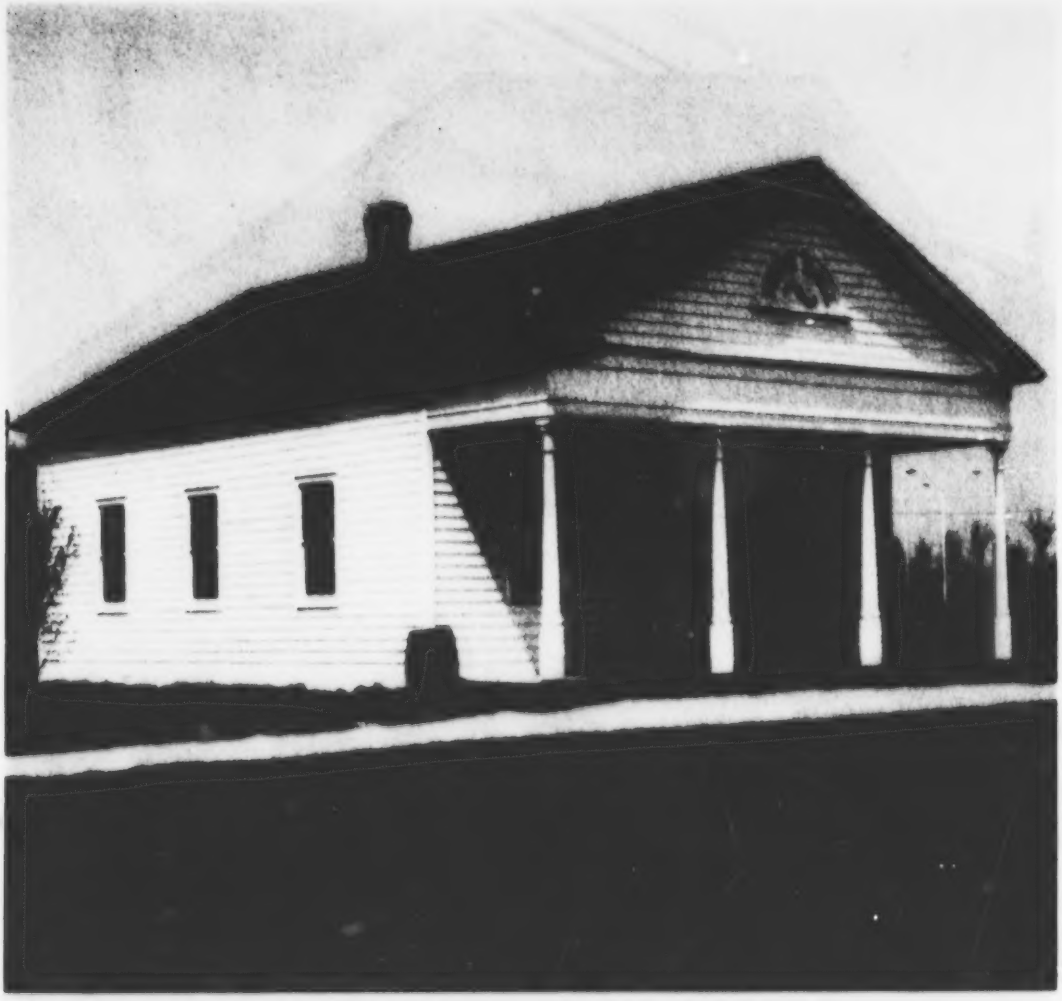
Constructed 1840; **Architect** Edward Fairweather; **Material** wood. The temple-form Greek Revival building was popular throughout the Maritimes, as several wooden temples such as this one illustrated. Here Ionic columns are set *in antis* along the facade with large windows opening up the wall surface behind. The pediment used here completes the literal reference to antiquity, whereas Cumberland and Storm had used simple cresting in their post office (Fig. 57). Translation into wood did not affect the style significantly, except for the textural quality imparted by the wooden clapboard. The Saint John Mechanics' Institute was one of many such buildings erected in Britain, British North America and the United States in the 1830s-50s. The Mechanics' Institutes were organized and run by the professional classes to provide some formal instruction for the artisan classes. Lectures and courses were offered in the sciences and humanities, and the buildings erected for these purposes often contained lecture halls (the Saint John building had an amphitheatre), libraries and laboratories. Their function was superseded gradually by the rise of universal and compulsory education, and by the appearance of public libraries. Nevertheless, touring lecturers remained popular, and all strata of society filled the institute's hall to hear such a talk. (New Brunswick Provincial Museum)

59. Normal School, Truro, Nova Scotia

Constructed 1854 by Joseph McNaught; **Material** wood. The *in antis* temple-front provided a covered entrance yet saved the expense of several columns erected across the front, as in a prostyle temple. The builder of the Truro Normal School left the walls bare, when a pilaster order was expected at the corners of the building and at the corners of the entrance. The gable end serves as the pediment while the entablature serves as an eaves moulding around the entire building. This particular school closely resembles the *in antis* Greek Revival school design commissioned in 1852 by the Nova Scotia legislature from American architect Henry Barnard. (Public Archives of Nova Scotia)

60. Yarmouth Academy, 111 Main Street, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia

Constructed 1831 by James B. Dane; **Material** wood. At the vernacular level, as shown here, Neoclassicism became amazingly pliable, adapting and transforming itself according to the imagination of the builder. A classical frieze of triglyphs and metopes could be wrapped around the upper storey of any building, and any gable end could be made into a pediment. Approximations of pilasters and stringcourses could be applied almost at whim with the simple use of wide, fat mouldings. Even such unclassical materials as clapboard and shingle could be adapted to suit the style. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)



61. Wilmot Township Hall, 18 Maple Avenue, North York, Ontario

Constructed 1858; **Material** wood. In its simplest form the prostyle Greek Revival temple-plan building was considerably abbreviated so that the columns were reduced to simple verandah supports. The portico shelters the gable end entrance of the building, giving a modest building a handsome presence. The return of the gable end creating the allusion to the classical pediment became popular on all types of buildings during the 1840s and 50s. Similar town halls appeared in several small Ontario communities. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

62. County Building, 137 Saint-Paul Street, Brome Lake, Quebec
Constructed 1839 by Timothy E. Chamberlain; **Architect** James Ball; **Material** brick and wood. The Greek Revival enjoyed a measure of popularity in the Eastern Townships of Quebec where there was a sizeable population originating in the United States. The County Building in Brome was larger than the Ontario and Maritime examples we have examined, and more monumental in effect. The contrast of painted white columns and entablature against dark brick walls was a favourite device with American Greek Revivalists. Note that brick pilasters on the wall echo the columns in front. Similar buildings may be found near the border in New England. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

The major buildings were erected in the principal urban centres of the day, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec City and Saint John, with more vernacular expressions of the style appearing in smaller centres and in rural locations. The buildings were stylistically harmonious from region to region, with some variations caused by the different origins of their builders, and by the use of different materials. We shall see a similar pattern appearing in the domestic and religious architecture of the day.

DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

Neoclassical domestic buildings show stylistic phases similar to those found in public buildings. By far the most popular expression of Neoclassicism appeared in houses following the conservative school of Robert Adam. Closely related to these are a smaller number of houses illustrating the application of ideas from the Picturesque Movement to Neoclassicism, as developed by John Soane and John Nash, and propagated by authors such as Francis Goodwin. In domestic as in public architecture, there are two factions of the Greek Revival, and they retain their mutual independence.

Turning first to conservative Adamesque Neoclassicism we see that the major examples found were built of stone either as free-standing single homes or as town houses, in or near urban centres. Elements of the Adamesque percolated to all levels of the building world, until at its most vernacular level only a Roman order, a blind arcade, or a fanlight remained, bereft of all of the other features of the style. Such modest expressions appeared in wood, stone and brick, in separate houses and in town houses virtually everywhere.

The Adamesque Canadian house, as exemplified by the Chandler House in Dorchester, New Brunswick, and the Anglican Presbytery, Quebec City (Figs 63-64), is conservative in its underlying Palladian composition. But the entire facade is linearized in the Adamesque manner: the base storey becomes a network of smooth, sharp lines created by channelling of the masonry. Delicately incised stringcourses, broad, flat-end pilasters and shallow blind arcades complete the play of linear rhythms. To this treatment are added antique Roman details, especially the Roman orders, and the Adamesque details, swags, urns and the fanlight.

A similar treatment appears in town houses, with the only difference being of course the off-centre door. In Quebec City, 9 Haldimand (Fig. 65) has a smoothed out, three-part elevation with a blind arcade and a fanlight. The MacDougal-Harrison house (Fig. 66) has no rusticated base, since such rustication is not suitable in brick; nevertheless, the house has an interesting linear rhythm created by a curious, two-tiered blind arcade.

In vernacular building, a fanlight or a Roman order at the door was the vestige of conservative Neoclassical architecture that appeared. In Maritime cities, Pictou, Halifax and Saint John, stone and wood town houses were built with fanlit doorways or with an antique order at the door (Fig. 67). The fanlit or columned doorway was popular throughout Ontario where it was applied to houses of all materials (Fig. 68). In Quebec this feature appeared on the Anglo-Norman villa (Fig. 69), adding Neoclassical detail to a building that combined traditional Quebec domestic architecture with elements of the Picturesque. In all of these structures the fanlight and the order are applied as pleasing decorative details on domestic buildings that otherwise show no attempt at a comprehensive stylistic expression.

In Canada, the ideas of Robert Adam and those of Soane and Nash tended to blend when treating Neoclassical domestic architecture in a Picturesque manner. Although the Picturesque was primarily concerned with

irregular building, several architects appreciated that effects of light and shade, smooth and sharp surfaces, and advancing and receding volumes could be applied to regular and classical buildings. The result was a few architect-designed suburban villas in Ontario and Quebec set in carefully landscaped settings, of subtle and regular design.

63. Chandler House, 10 Sackville Road, Dorchester, New Brunswick

Constructed 1831; **Architect** unknown; **Material** stone. The similarities between British and Canadian Neoclassicism are clear, when we compare Robert Adam's Charlotte Square (Fig. 17) with the Chandler house. From British models, the designer of the Chandler house took an antique Roman Doric order, a channelled masonry base, stringcourses that cut horizontal lines across the facade, the fanlight and flanked window. The linear delicacy of the exterior is matched by that of the interior of the Chandler house, where fine Adamesque details executed in plaster grace ceilings and walls. These features reappear throughout Neoclassical domestic architecture of all the Canadian colonies in various combinations and situations. The house was built for Edward B. Chandler, a leader in the movement for responsible government, a Father of Confederation, and later a lieutenant-governor. He took part in the Charlottetown, Quebec and London conferences. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

64. Anglican Presbytery, 29 Desjardins Street, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed 1841 by William Fielders and William Smith; **Architects** Frederick Hacker and Edward Taylor Fletcher; **Material** stone. Channelled masonry, a fanlight, and stringcourses appear on the Anglican Presbytery in Quebec City as they did on the Chandler house in New Brunswick. Here the blind arcade favoured by Neoclassicists also appears, adding a further linear rhythm to the facade. This house matches another Frederick Hacker work, the Presbytery of St. Andrew's, also in Quebec City, where bowed walls ornament the ends of the building. Both have the steeper roofline and casement windows typical of Quebec building. Frederick Hacker, the principal in the partnership of Hacker and Fletcher, arrived in Quebec in 1832, and immediately offered his services as an architect, engineer and surveyor, claiming to have been employed in England by John Nash, and as the deputy surveyor of the District of Backney, Bethnal Green, and Bow of London. He had been in partnership with one Hughes for two years, and later joined with Taylor Fletcher from 1839 to 1841. Fletcher (1817-?) arrived in Quebec in 1827 from Canterbury, England, and was later articled to Hacker. In 1845-46 Hacker had a brief partnership with Staveley. Most of Hacker's work seems to have been in domestic architecture, although he did some repairs to the Quebec court house. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

65. 9 Haldimand Street, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed ca. 1830; **Material** stone. The vocabulary of Quebec Neoclassicism was consistent for both the free-standing house and for the town house. On this town house are delicately channelled masonry, blind arcading, and stringcourses between the floors. Modest town houses built of rubble masonry were often stuccoed and scored to imitate the more desirable ashlar. Many fine examples of Neoclassical town houses survive in Quebec City including several on St. Louis, Desjardins, d'Auteuil, Ste-Ursule, St. Denis, Hébert, St. Stanislas, St. Pierre, du Parloir, Couillard and Garneau streets. Stone town houses were built in Hamilton and Kingston, Ontario, and in certain of the smaller towns in the St. Lawrence-Rideau River area; many were built in Montreal and Quebec, and a few in Saint John, Halifax and Yarmouth. (Leslie Maitland)

66. McDougal-Harrison House, 165 Queen Street, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario

Constructed ca. 1820; **Material** brick. This is a well-known historic house, stylistically *au courante* with its stringcourse, fanlit and pilastered door. Blind arcades were also a feature of Neoclassicism as we have seen on many examples, although it was unusual to see them placed on both storeys of the facade, as they are here; the Stewart house, also in Niagara-on-the-Lake, has a similar arrangement. The MacDougal-Harrison house seems to be one of the few surviving Neoclassical brick town houses; a survey of the John Ross Robertson collection in the Metropolitan Toronto Library shows that Toronto originally had many, including the Crombie house of 1829. Brick was a characteristic material of the Toronto-Niagara region. The most famous brick Neoclassical house is undoubtedly the McMartin house (1829) in Perth, but many were also built in Prince Edward County, and in the London area. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

67. 5270 Morris Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Constructed ca. 1834; **Material** wood. An antique order at the door, and pilaster-like end boards place this Halifax town house within the boundaries of current stylistic trends. Halifax has several surviving town houses in both stone and wood showing some Neoclassical details, on Morris, Hollis, Lower Water, and Barrington streets. Five-sided dormers are a feature of Maritime architecture, found elsewhere only in other areas of heavy Scottish settlement, such as Hamilton, Ontario. Halifax has had a long history as a strategic port for the British navy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and as a commercial harbour. It still possesses a fine collection of early buildings, many of which are among Canada's best examples of Palladianism. These include Province House (1811), Government House (1800), the Music Room of the Duke of Kent's estate (1805), the Town Clock (1803) which is a curious circular structure, St. Paul's Anglican Chruch (1759) which is the earliest surviving English church in Canada, and the round St. George's Church (1800). Many buildings were destroyed in 1917 when a munitions ship blew up in the harbour. In recent years Halifax has had a progressive attitude towards preservation, which has assured the conservation of its treasured structures. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

68. Maplehurst, Maitland, Ontario

Constructed ca. 1830; **Material** stone. Maplehurst stands out as an unusual variation on the Neoclassical Ontario house. It is exceptional to see on a modestly sized house such as Maplehurst such fine ashlar masonry, an *in antis* entrance with a correct Roman Doric order, and such large-scale colonnaded wings. Usually one to one and a half storey houses in Ontario had no wings or inset entrances; instead they had a gable roof often broken in the centre by a pediment over the door, a fanlight, sidelights, or a pilaster order at the door. Numerous examples of this house type exist, built in brick, wood and stone. Maplehurst was built for George Langley, a merchant from Westmoreland, England. It is one of several well-designed stone buildings still standing in this village on the shores of the St. Lawrence River. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

69. 4 Principale Street, St-Michel, Quebec

Constructed 1851; **Material** stone. At the vernacular level, details borrowed from the Neoclassical style made many smaller houses handsome, as our illustration shows, where a suggestion of an elliptical arch crowns the door. Other features of this house add to its character: dormers and chimneys decorate the bellcast hipped roof whose curves sweep far beyond the block of the house to shelter an encircling verandah; the high elevation of the house provides light for the lower rooms and gives this modest house a certain prominence over its setting. Neoclassical details such as fanlights or antique orders at the door adorn many rural houses of the era, in all parts of Canada. In Ontario and the Maritimes, these houses had straight-sloping gable roofs and sash windows (Figs 68, 77, 80 and 82) whereas in Quebec their roofs were bellcast, either hipped or gable (Fig. 79), and the windows were casement rather than sash. Rural houses in Quebec were often elevated, as is this house, whereas English rural houses were more often closer to the ground. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

Summerhill (Fig. 70) in Kingston exemplifies the Neoclassical villa interpreted in the light of the Picturesque. Recognizable is the Palladian composition of centre block with flanking pavilions; however the treatment of this conservative composition is quite unlike that of the ponderous Palladian villa. A circular room in the centre section causes the exterior wall to thrust forward in a graceful curve, echoed by the slightly bowed colonnades linking the end pavilions. The curved surfaces and the projecting and receding masses receive a subtle play of shadow and light. The light colour of the building contrasts with the dark green foliage of its setting, so that the whole pleases the eye like a well-composed painting.

More purely Soanian were two Kingston buildings by George Browne, St. Andrew's Manse and the stable of Rockwood Villa (Figs 71 and 72). Many Neoclassical writers, Soane included, contended that if a building were regular and symmetrical it remained essentially classical, even when divested of specifically classical antique details such as the orders.[1] These Regular Villas, as they were called at the time,[2] had the symmetry of classicism, with occasional oblique references to classicism as in the fanlight over the door of the manse, or the pediment crowning the stable. These buildings employ picturesque effects of advancing and receding planes to create effects of light and shade, and they are set into landscaped environments. St. Andrew's Manse has an added interest in the contrast between the rough surface of the walls and the smooth, bevelled window and door mouldings. The stable is fairly closely derived from Soane's stable designs,[3] while curious circular window mouldings made this structure one of the most original buildings ever erected in Canada.

70. Summerhill, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario

Constructed 1836-39; **Material** stone. Archdeacon George Stuart's home was one of Canada's most palatial early private residences. In its original form, Summerhill was grand in both size and artistic ambition, with its large centre section, flanking pavilions and sweeping colonnades. Smooth surfaces and a concern for effects of light and shade give this Neoclassical house a pictorial quality. In European Neoclassical buildings, round and rounded rooms were common enough, and their curved perimeters caused the exterior walls to bow in graceful sweeps. Round or polygonal rooms were rarely built in Canada, although there were a few fine examples besides Summerhill. In Kingston City Hall, the two principal halls have rounded ends, and the exterior of the building conforms to the shape of these rooms. Rideau Hall, home of the governor-general, has a large rounded room in its centre section which was once evident in the exterior elevation. Queen's University has occupied Summerhill since 1854, and since then the house has been much altered from its appearance in this photograph. (Queen's University Archives)

71. St. Andrew's Manse, 146 Clergy Street East, Kingston, Ontario

Constructed 1841; **Architect** George Browne; **Material** stone. The essential symmetry and regularity of St. Andrew's Manse are the underlying features of a highly original and picturesque design. The deep eaves of the hipped roof cast dark shadows over the facade, whose surface has a curiously receding centre section and ends - a reverse of the usual composition of advancing centre section with emphasis on the corners through the use of quoins, pilasters or end panels. Rough stone walls contrast sharply with smoothly bevelled mouldings and stringcourses. St. Andrew's Manse was very influential locally. Variations on the combination of hipped roof, advancing and receding facade, and semicircular fanlight recur on several Kingston houses, including 429 Victoria, 90 and 280 Johnston, 98 Earl and 89 Gore. George Browne (1811-94) received his architectural training in Dublin, Ireland, under the supervision of his architect-father. He arrived in Quebec at nineteen, and launched almost immediately into a long, successful career spanning many decades, and several cities. Browne began his career by offering instruction in architectural drawing, measuring and surveying. While in Quebec City he built several town houses and rural villas. He acquired a post as government architect, which led him to Kingston to do alterations on the hospital to convert it into a legislature building. Here he built several houses, including this one, as well as the Rockwood Villa stable (Fig. 72), several commercial buildings (Fig. 47), and of course his masterpiece, Kingston City Hall (Fig. 1). Three other buildings in which he assisted are McGill College (Fig. 32), the Quebec Parliament (Fig. 33), and Bonsecours Market (Fig. 51). (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

72. Rockwood Villa Stable, Kingston, Ontario

Constructed 1841; **Demolished; Architect** George Browne. Rockwood stable was one of the most original of Canada's Neoclassical buildings. Its symmetry and regularity provide an underlying framework for George Browne's playful facade of tiny rectangular windows within blind squares, and circles within other circles. The whole was topped by oversized ventilators and an odd cupola arrangement over the pediment. The witty use of classical and purely imaginative forms compares closely with Soane's work. The stable was built as part of an estate for John Cartwright of Kingston. A rhyme was composed about the building at the time.

Oh much I wish that I were able
To build a house like Cartwright's stable,
For it does cause me great remorse
To be worse lodged than Cartwright's horse!

The house Browne designed as the focus of the complex was described at the time as an "Italian Villa." The house, still standing, is also a Neoclassical building with a regular facade, columned portico, stringcourses, end pilasters and blind panelling. Only the house remains - the stable and an entrance lodge were destroyed. (Kingston Psychiatric Hospital)

The Neoclassical villa was united successfully with traditional Quebec architecture,[4] as shown at Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies (Fig. 73). The projecting wings of the U-shaped plan, long favoured in Quebec, provide advancing and receding volumes for the building, while truncated corners make subtle gradations in the shadows that play across the surface. Lightly coloured antique Greek details over the doors and windows contrast with the dark wall of the building.

There were several Neoclassical buildings whose elevations were not affected by Picturesque ideas of composition, but because they were set into the landscape, like elements in a picture, they suggested a certain sympathy with the Picturesque Movement. Several villas around Quebec City, those on Mount Royal in Montreal "where elegant white mansions appear beautiful in contrast to the surrounding foliage,"[5] and those along the shores of Lake Ontario are in this group. Garden features in particular lent themselves well to pictorial treatment. Henry Atkinson "with much taste erected on his grounds a Grecian temple"[6] to accompany his villa at Cap Rouge. The cockpit and entrance gate of Dundurn Castle in Hamilton were classical structures meant to be appreciated from the windows of the house as elements in the landscape.

Two trends existed in domestic Greek

73. Manoir Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Quebec

Constructed 1853; **Architect** Charles Baillairgé; **Material** wood. Charles Baillairgé blended some features traditional to Quebec architecture with ideas from the Picturesque Movement at Manoir Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies. The high, bellcast roofline punctuated by dormers, and U-shaped plan are found in Quebec architecture, and they are used here for pictorial effect. Deep eaves cast dark shadows against the horizontal planking. Eared trim, cresting and rosettes in the door and window mouldings were antique Greek details particularly favoured by Baillairgé here and in his other buildings such as the Quebec Concert Hall (Fig. 56). The seigneury of Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies was in the hands of the Juchereau family from 1656 until 1833, when it was bought by Amable Dionne, a merchant from Kamouraska. He had this manor house (the third on the site) built by craftsmen from the village of Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies according to Baillairgé's plans. Dionne's plans for an elegant estate included a garden *à la française* with fruit trees and parterres. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

74. Presbytery of St. Patrick's Church, 7 Saint Stanislas Street, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed 1854-55; **Architect** Goodiate Richardson Browne; **Material** stone. St. Patrick's Presbytery is very much in the vein of the British Greek Revival, as A.J.H. Richardson pointed out. Its Greek style is restricted to its decorative features, such as the Greek Ionic columns placed on the facade *in antis*. Otherwise the elevation, with its channelled masonry base and pedimented centre is typically Neoclassical. Richardson also notes the similarity of St. Patrick's Presbytery to G.R. Browne's principal Montreal building, the City Bank (Fig. 55), and this house does have an oddly institutional look about it, unlike other presbyteries of the epoch which are decidedly domestic in appearance. Generally the facade is more sculptural than earlier Neoclassical works tended to be, in that the window mouldings are far richer than one would usually see executed by an architect of British origin. Browne seems to have adopted the more sculptural interpretation of Neoclassicism of his French colleagues, as one notices in Thomas Baillairgé's work on the Quebec Episcopal Palace. (Leslie Maitland)

Revival buildings just as there were two trends in the public structures. On one hand, buildings inspired by the British Greek Revival maintained the elevations and plans of the free-standing house and the town house, so that in essence they remained much as they

had been before. The Greek Revival merely provided such buildings with a different repertoire of decorations. More original forms appeared at the hands of those Greek Revivalists who attempted a closer imitation of the antique temple. The former variety of Greek Revival was to be found built in stone in the cities of Ontario and Quebec, particularly Montreal and Quebec City, while wooden and brick temple-like buildings were erected throughout the Maritimes and in rural areas of Ontario and the Eastern Townships.

The Presbytery of St. Patrick's, the Prince of Wales Terrace, and the Maison Têtu (Figs 74-76) represent many free-standing houses and town houses built by British or by Quebec

75. Prince of Wales Terrace, 989-995 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal, Quebec **Constructed** 1860; **Demolished** 1971; **Architects** William Footner and George Browne; **Material** stone. Prince of Wales Terrace in Montreal was Canada's outstanding Neoclassical terrace. Here classical detail was applied decoratively, after the British fashion: Greek eared trim around the windows, iron anthemia on the fence, with Roman Doric columns to save the composition from dogmatism. A smooth, sharp, linear pilaster order composed individual houses into a unified block with pedimented centre and slightly projecting end pavilions, and the building in turn composed the streetscape into a harmonious whole, in the manner of the European terrace. The terrace was erected for Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of Rupert's Land and general superintendant of the Hudson's Bay Company. Simpson named the terrace "Prince of Wales Terrace" in honour of Prince Albert Edward, who was on a tour of British North America in 1860. All efforts to save the terrace from destruction failed and it was demolished in 1971. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

76. Maison Têtu, 23 Sainte-Geneviève Avenue, Quebec City, Quebec
Constructed 1853-54 by Pierre Chateauvert, mason; Isaac Dorion, joiner; Thomas Murphy and John O'Leary, plasterers; William and James McKay, painters; **Architect** Charles Baillairgé; **Material** stone. The Neoclassical town house of Quebec, with its three-part elevation, its stringcourses dividing the floors, executed in fine ashlar masonry, here receives a rich application of the Greek. Baillairgé's Greek details are virtually identical to those found in the books of American author Minard Lafever, but Baillairgé applies these motifs simply as details to a traditional composition while not allowing Greek Revival approaches to planning and elevation to alter his design. The programme of Greek decoration continues inside, with finely detailed door and window mouldings, chimney pieces and rosettes. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

77. 106 Maine Street, Wolfville, Nova Scotia

Constructed 1864; **Material** wood. In vernacular housing, traditional elevations remained, dominating current fashions. In such cases, the Greek Revival appeared only as eared trim around the door or the windows as seen here. The Greek Revival had also introduced a taste for the rectalinear, so that square-headed transom windows supplanted the graceful curve of the fanlight. In this particular example, the entrance is set back from the surface of the wall, sheltering the doorway, suggesting the *in antis* portico favoured by the Greek Revivalists. In vernacular building, historical styles were combined freely, as we see here in the use of Gothic windows above a classical door. This house was built in 1864 for Andrew DeWolf Barss, a graduate from Acadia and Edinburgh University, and Barss, a medical doctor, lived in it until 1924. In 1930 the house became a rectory for St. John's Anglican Church. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

architects, whose elevations remained basically untouched by the Greek Revival, except by the switch to new decorative details. In all of these buildings the three-part elevation of basement storey, principal storey and attic storey remains. Greek details are applied decoratively, with baseless Doric or Greek Ionic columns, and the schema is completed by eared and crested trim, anthemia and wreaths.

What is true for the major examples is true also for many modest houses and town houses, whether stone, brick or wood. Decorative Greek elements including Greek orders or keyed pilasters framing the door, eared trim, rosettes and crests were found on all types of domestic structures in all the colonies (Figs 77-81). The most original innovation in these otherwise traditional buildings is the use of ventilators cut through the entablature into the attic (Figs 82-83).

78. 43 d'Auteuil, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed 1834; **Architect** Frederick Hacker; **Material** stone. This fine structure exemplifies the use of Greek Revival details on the Quebec town house. Against a perfectly plain, dark Cap-Rouge ashlar masonry surface, the architect has set a delicately carved wooden Greek Revival entrance. Piers flank baseless Doric columns which frame the door and sidelights in the spaces between them, and a pediment caps the whole. Flanked windows on the upper two storeys echo the composition of the door. Many other Quebec town houses are very plain buildings, which suggest the Greek Revival in the use of eared trim around the windows, an *in antis* entrance, or a Greek Doric order or frieze at the door. The house was built for Henry Atkinson, a timber merchant, who leased it a few years later to a Mr. Payne, who made it into Payne's Hotel. In 1843 Lieutenant-General Sir James Hope leased the house, and in the 1860s the tenant was Thomas McGreevy, contractor for the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

79. House in l'Islet, Quebec

Constructed ca. 1840s; **Material** wood. In the early nineteenth century, the rural Quebec house conformed to a consistent type: a three- to five-bay facade, centre door, sash windows, capped with the gracefully curved bellcast roof punctuated by dormers. In this example, Greek Revival detail was applied in the form of eared trim surrounding the windows, and an order framing the door. Although built of wood, the facade has been scored to imitate ashlar masonry. The flat-headed transom window over the door generally replaced the fanlight window during the 1840s. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

80. Heroux House, Merrickville, Ontario

Constructed 1845; **Material** stone. The traditional rural English house remains the same in plan and elevation even with the addition of Greek Revival details. Here a Greek Doric portico shelters the doorway, and a wide entablature crosses the facade of the whole house. In composition, however, this low, gabled, symmetrical house is similar to its Adamesque predecessors of a few years earlier. Ontario and the Maritimes still have many such traditionally designed houses, both large and small, in wood, brick and stone, which use Greek Revival details decoratively. This stone house in Merrickville is a slightly more sophisticated cousin of the hundreds of such stone houses erected in the area in the 1820s-30s. Between 1826 and 1832, construction of the Rideau waterway between Kingston and Ottawa was underway. Stonemasons from Ireland and Scotland were brought out to build the locks, dams, spillways and channels necessary for this great work. Most of these men remained in the area, building fine stone houses for themselves on their farms in the Rideau area, and many of these houses still survive. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

81. 46 Forest Avenue East, Hamilton, Ontario

Constructed ca. 1850; **Material** stone. Hamilton, Ontario preserves several stone town houses, and this outstanding example has some particularly fine Greek detail. The mouldings over the ground-floor windows and the door form Greek frets at their ends. The rosette over the door is pure Greek Revival as well. The date of construction and architect are unknown, although the building was occupied by one Milton Davies by 1853. In 1858 Hamilton architect Frederick Rastrick moved in with his family, remaining in the house until 1898. Now the house contains law offices and remains in good condition. Many Scots settled in Hamilton in the early nineteenth century, and this accounts partly for the stone buildings erected there. It is interesting to speculate whether or not the builder of 46 Forest Avenue was a Scot, for the Greek Revival was very popular in Scotland, surviving there longer than it did in England. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

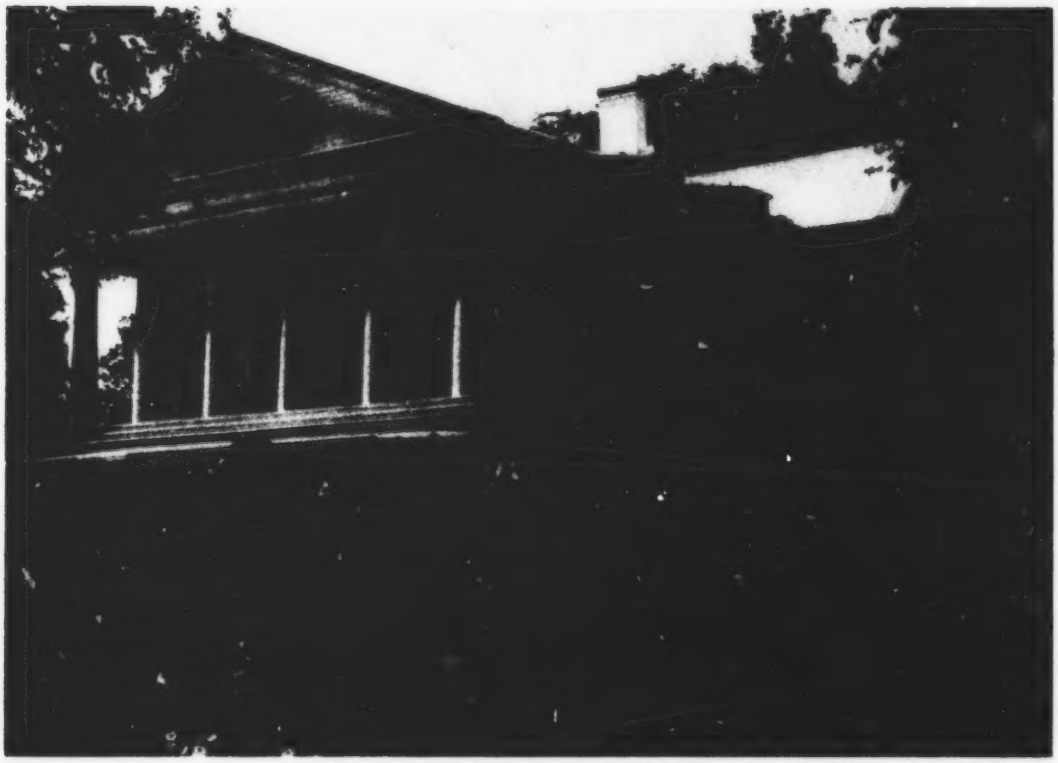
82. Maria Doane Leach House, Coffinscroft, Nova Scotia

Constructed 1842 by Samuel Osborne Doane; **Material** wood. One of the more original features of the Greek Revival was a novel and useful innovation in the treatment of the Doric frieze. In large buildings, the metopes between the triglyphs were opened to form small windows for the upper storey, or ventilators for the attic. This ingenious device was used by builders of small houses even when no other features of the Doric order were present. The Leach house is one of several similar houses built in the Coffinscroft/Barrington area by Doane. There are scattered examples of buildings with such ventilators in Ontario along the shore of Lake Ontario, in the London area and in the Rideau Corridor. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

83. Terrace, Walton Street, Port Hope, Ontario

Constructed 1830; Material brick. Such terraces were rarely built in Canada, appearing as a rule only in major urban centres, which Port Hope at one time aspired to be. Like the Maria Doane Leach House, Walton Terrace has ventilators cut into the frieze of the order, making it the only existing terrace so treated. Like many American examples of Neoclassicism, Walton Terrace exploits the effects of contrasting colours, with a white order and white lintels against dark brick walls. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

Greek motifs appear on Picturesque cottages similar to the cottages we have already examined. In these buildings, Greek details adorn buildings which have advancing and receding forms creating patterns of light and shade, variegated skylines, picturesque settings and a feeling for texture. For adaptation to setting, the McCord House in Montreal is outstanding (Fig. 84). In Halifax, 1714 Robie Street, described at the time of construction as a "Grecian Doric Cottage," and Henry Hill's best known work, is a fine example of a cottage in which the verandah supports double as a colonnade (Fig. 85).



84. McCord House, Côte des Neiges, Montreal, Quebec

Constructed 1836 by Paul Adams; **Burned** 1938; **Material** brick and wood. The McCord House had an alternate name, "Temple Grove," suggesting some of the ideas formative in the style of the building. It was a temple-shaped building; in fact, it was one of Canada's first true temple-plan buildings having an encircling colonnade. It was also set in a grove, as this illustration shows, thereby uniting an antique form to modern ideas of picturesque siting. The owner, John S. McCord, dedicated the terrace of the house to General James Wolfe. McCord had sixteen steps built to the house, representing the sixteen regiments present on the Plains of Abraham, while the forty paces from the gate to the house were equal to the distance between the two armies in that battle. (Notman Photographic Archives)

83. 1714 Robie Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Constructed ca. 1840-42 by David Calder; **Architect** Henry G. Hill; **Material** wood. In this cottage, picturesque design has been adapted to the Neoclassical style. Massive Grecian Doric columns replace the delicate supports of the picturesque verandah, and a heavy Doric frieze encircles the whole building. In spite of these Greek motifs, a picturesque hipped roof replaces the gable of the Greek temple. The lower storey was originally lit by an oval opening in the second floor below a cupola, which is now closed. Few such Grecian cottages were built in the Maritimes, while Ontario had several. Five-sided dormers are a popular feature in the Maritimes. Henry Hill (1805-82) was one of our earliest native-trained architects, having received his instruction in architecture at the Halifax Mechanics' Institute. While pursuing these studies Hill won a prize for a "grecian cottage," and it is interesting to speculate whether or not 1714 Robie Street is of the same design. This was not Hill's only Greek cottage; an advertisement of 1843 notes a "New Grecian Ionic" cottage by Hill in Gottingen and Albro streets. The 1714 Robie Street cottage was built for David Caldwell, Halifax's first elected mayor. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

86. Mount Fairview, Dundas, Ontario
Constructed 1848. Classical villas had the same elements as the classical cottages: symmetry and regularity, a high, decorated skyline, and a verandah supported by an antique order. The principal order on Mount Fairview is an unfluted Greek Ionic supporting both verandah and balcony roofs. Mount Fairview, built for a grocer named Moore, represents several homes erected in the Dundas-Niagara region that were two storeys, with a colossal order supporting a balcony, a cupola on the roof lighting the upper hall, a parapet or balustrade, and a hipped roof, set in a picturesque setting. Among this group are Ruthven Park, Cayuga; Alexander Hamilton House, Queenston; and Glencairn in Queenston. Concentrated in the Dundas-Hamilton area were other fine Neoclassical buildings including the Collins Hotel in Dundas, Dundurn Castle in Hamilton, and the original Christ's Church (Fig. 97) also in Hamilton. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

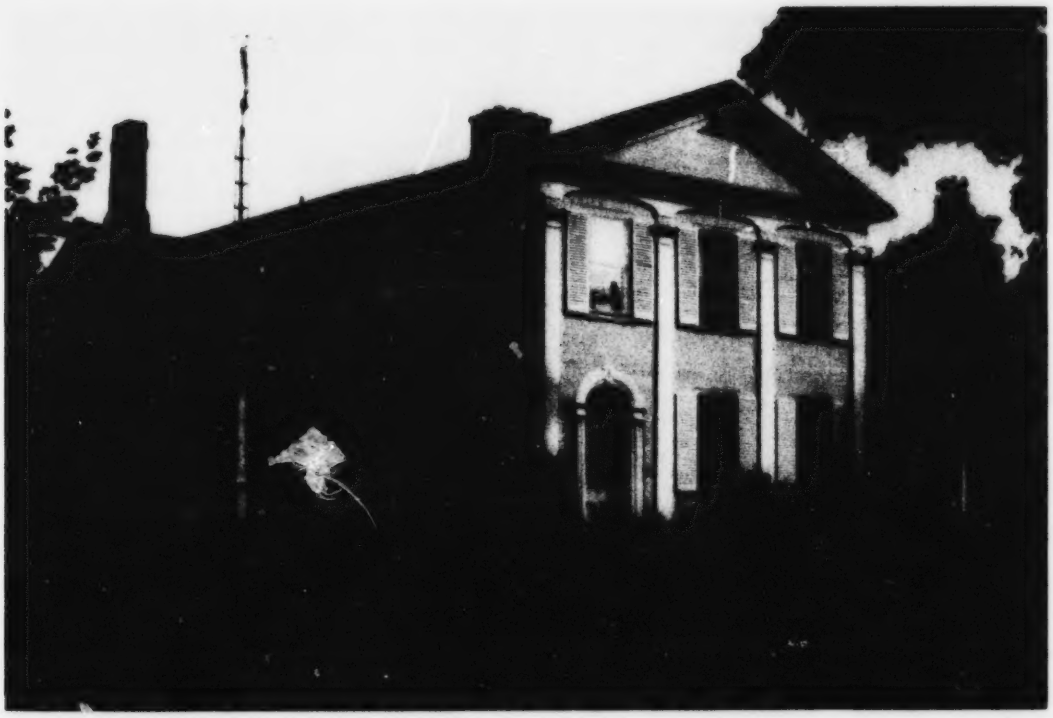
A verandah-*cum*-colonnade is found in other examples as well, in Ontario, the Eastern Townships, and the Maritimes, in small houses and in large. As shown in Mount Fairview in Dundas (Fig. 86), the order can be used to carry both verandah and balcony. A decorative skyline is created by a hipped roof flanked by high chimneys and crowned by a high widow's walk or cupola.

But the literal Greek Revival provided a markedly different kind of house, besides those just discussed. To imitate the Grecian

temple more closely, architects derived a new orientation for the house which placed the entrance on the short gable end. Now the principal facade on a free-standing house could be three bays wide with an off-centre entrance, which allowed for new floor plans, especially the side-hall plan previously used only in town houses. The so-called temple-plan house appears with either a free-standing portico or an applied order, with or without low wings to either side. The gable-ended house with or without side wings was immensely popular in Ontario and many representatives survive (Figs 87 and 88). This fresh addition of a new plan and elevation for domestic structures was one of the most original contributions of the Greek Revival to nineteenth century architecture.

87. 54 North Road, Standbridge East, Quebec

Constructed 1851 by Davis; **Material** wood. The Eastern Townships of Quebec had several Greek Revival temple buildings that resembled Greek Revival buildings in New England. A good example is 54 North Road, having not only a prostyle order, but also eared trim, a handsome pediment, rosettes and Greek key design around the windows and doors. Like many buildings of its size, 54 North Road had a Greek facade only: dormers, clapboarded additions and sensible brick chimneys festooned the sides, making the building liveable. Built by a builder named Davis, 54 North Road was the home of Thomas Baker II, son of a Loyalist family from Rhode Island. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)



88. Keeler House, 7 Church Street, Colborne, Ontario

Material wood. The Greek temple-plan was accommodated to modern practical domestic use by the addition of wings to either side. On some of these houses, there is a free-standing order in front, but others, such as the Keeler house, have simply an applied order. The use of the fanlit doorway and the elliptical arches between the pilasters illustrate the freedom that builders took with the style. The elevation of this house is modelled on the nearby Barnum House in Grafton, built over thirty years earlier. The temple-plan house with wings was limited in Canada almost entirely to Ontario. Other examples include Crysler Hall in Upper Canada Village, the Grover-Nicholls house (1847) in Peterborough, Alwington in Kingston, the Peck house in Prescott, and the Fox house in Colchester Township. Such houses may be found in upstate New York, Ohio and Illinois. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

In summary, then, we see a pattern of domestic construction parallel to the stylistic pattern found in public building. Conservative Neoclassicism was the most popular variation on the style, and its principal examples were erected in major urban centres, while its vernacular expressions were built nearly everywhere. A Soanian version of the style appeared in smaller numbers as a kind of variation of conservative Neoclassicism. The decorative Greek Revival, like conservative Neoclassicism, was an urban style, whose rural counterpart was a distinctly more literal interpretation of the antique.

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

The effect of Neoclassicism on church architecture was quite different from its effect on public and domestic architecture, for the three phases of the style in its conservative frame, its advanced aspect and its Greek Revival mode do not appear as the pattern of development. Instead, the pattern perceivable is cut along sectarian lines, for each of the major religious groups, Quebec Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian and Dissenting, had its own type of building traditional to it. Neoclassicism accommodated itself to the plan and elevation set down in each case. Quebec religious architecture develops along distinctly different lines, largely independent of English Neoclassicism, influenced strongly by its own traditional forms, and by a knowledge of French Neoclassicism. In the Anglican and Presbyterian church and the English reformist chapel, conservative and advanced ideas are not differentiated; rather there appear religious buildings with linear treatments of traditional elevations, decorated with antique Roman or Greek detail, and sometimes there is a rationalized treatment of the facade. The Greek Revival, however, retained its distinction and created its own body of church buildings. Religious buildings that were ambitious essays in Neoclassicism were found in the principal cities, while modest, vernacular versions were erected in rural areas.

The Catholic church in Quebec in its traditional form retained its characteristic twin-towered, three- to five-bay composition, while under the influence of the new style it acquired some antique detail, and a change in organization which points to an awareness of French Neoclassicism. Books on French Neoclassicism were readily available at the Séminaire de Québec library. The writings of J.-F. Blondel[1] and those of other authors described the French variety of Neoclassicism as more strictly rational, with a richer, more sculptural treatment of wall surfaces than the astringent Neoclassicism of the English.[2] Greater richness of wall surface characterized Quebec Neoclassical church architecture. Two schools of church architecture developed these ideas in Quebec, the principal one in the area of Quebec City, and another smaller one around Montreal.

In the Quebec school, the combination of traditional composition and rational ideas appears tentatively first in the Church of Saint-Charles Borromée (Fig. 89), Charlesbourg. The architect has attempted to unite the disparate parts of the centre section and the two towers by stretching the pediment across the three units. Otherwise the building has no other Neoclassical elements, for the wall surface has been left unarticulated by any kind of order, and the decorative window in the centre is Palladian.

The idea of a rationally organized facade appears in greater maturity at the Church of Saint-Roch (Fig. 90) where, logically, the centre section and the towers retain their structural distinction from each other, and the pediment sits before the temple motif in the centre. Nevertheless, the three units harmonize with each other by the consistent treatment of the windows and the wall surfaces.

The rationalized facade of Saint-Roch appears throughout the diocese of Quebec. Its successors however, promote a richer, more sculptural treatment of the wall surface, as created first at Notre-Dame Cathedral in Quebec (Fig. 91). In this facade, there is more play of surface levels, more contrasts of smooth and channelled masonry, more variety of apertures. Subsequent churches, such as Saint-Grégoire, Nicolet (Fig. 92), continue the model of the rational elevation expressed in a sculptural manner.

A separate but related body of church architecture appears in the Montreal region. It also seeks a clear, rational expression for the twin-towered church facade, but has not the heavy, plastic surfaces of the Quebec school. The church that sets the mode is Saint-Eustache (Fig. 93), remodelled in 1841 after having been severely damaged in the Rebellion of 1837. The five-bay, twin-towered elevation of the original structure is retained but transformed into a composition of mathematical regularity. A two-tiered pilaster order is applied, neatly geometricizing the facade into ten units. The bases of the towers

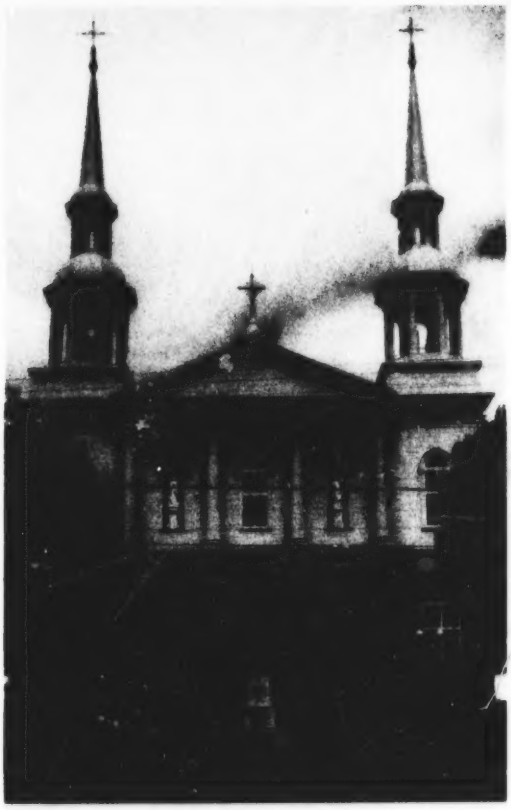
89. Church of Saint-Charles Borromée, Charlesbourg, Quebec
Constructed 1828-30; Architect Thomas Baillairgé; Material stone. Here Thomas Baillairgé (1791-1849) rationally composed the traditional twin-towered facade by separating the towers on the lower storeys while above binding the three units together by enlarging the pediment to cross the entire facade. The Palladian window, oval window and corner quoins are eighteenth century features. This photo shows the church just before the facade was given a smooth stucco coating. As the diocesan architect of Quebec Thomas Baillairgé built many churches and convents. The Quebec legislature (Fig. 33) was his principal public building. (Canadian inventory of Historic Building)

90. Church of Saint-Roch, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed 1846-50 by André Gagnet and Louis-Thomas Berlinguet; **Demolished** 1914; **Architect** Thomas Baillairgé; **Material** stone. The traditional twin towers of the Quebec church frame the facade of the Church of Saint-Roch. Baillairgé sought to rationally compose the facade by keeping the towers and the pediment distinct from each other, while harmonizing them by giving them similar quoining and fenestration, and making the towers the same width as the bays that flank the centre door. Other motifs are from a variety of sources: the rusticated door surrounds, the Palladian, oval and round windows and the quoins are features of eighteenth century architecture, while the pair of decorative scrolls above the pediment suggest the Baroque. The octagonal, staged spires evolve from the spire used at the Church of Saint-Patrice, Quebec, another early Baillairgé church. While the parapet hides the slope of the roofline on the facade, there has been no attempt made on the flanks of the buildings to disguise the roof. Saint-Roch replaces an earlier church burned in 1818. (Public Archives Canada)

91. Notre-Dame Cathedral, Quebec City, Quebec

Constructed 1844; **Architect** Thomas Baillairgé; **Material** stone. One of the most original Neoclassical buildings was the Catholic cathedral in Quebec City. The facade, applied to an earlier eighteenth century church, was highly praised when it was finished in 1844. The originality of the church is in its richness: Neoclassicism was a style of restraint and understatement, but here the components of the style are multiplied, layered and built up one upon another to form a design of great complexity. Such a sculptural approach to composition was used in subsequent Quebec churches. It foreshadows the Italian and Baroque Revivals in Quebec church architecture which were to begin shortly. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)



92. Church of Saint-Grégoire, Nicolet, Quebec

Constructed 1850; **Architect** Augustin Leblanc; **Material** stone. In 1850 Augustin Leblanc enlarged the 1802-5 Church of Saint-Grégoire and gave it the facade it has today, a facade that represents Neoclassical Quebec church architecture in its maturity. The original model established by Thomas Baillairgé at Saint-Charles Borromée, and Sainte-Geneviève in Pierrefonds is evident here in the pedimented front with flanking towers, the common entablatures and stringcourses, and the repetition of a basic rectangular unit across the facade. But the integration of the rusticated base storey and the corner quoins is handled more smoothly here. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

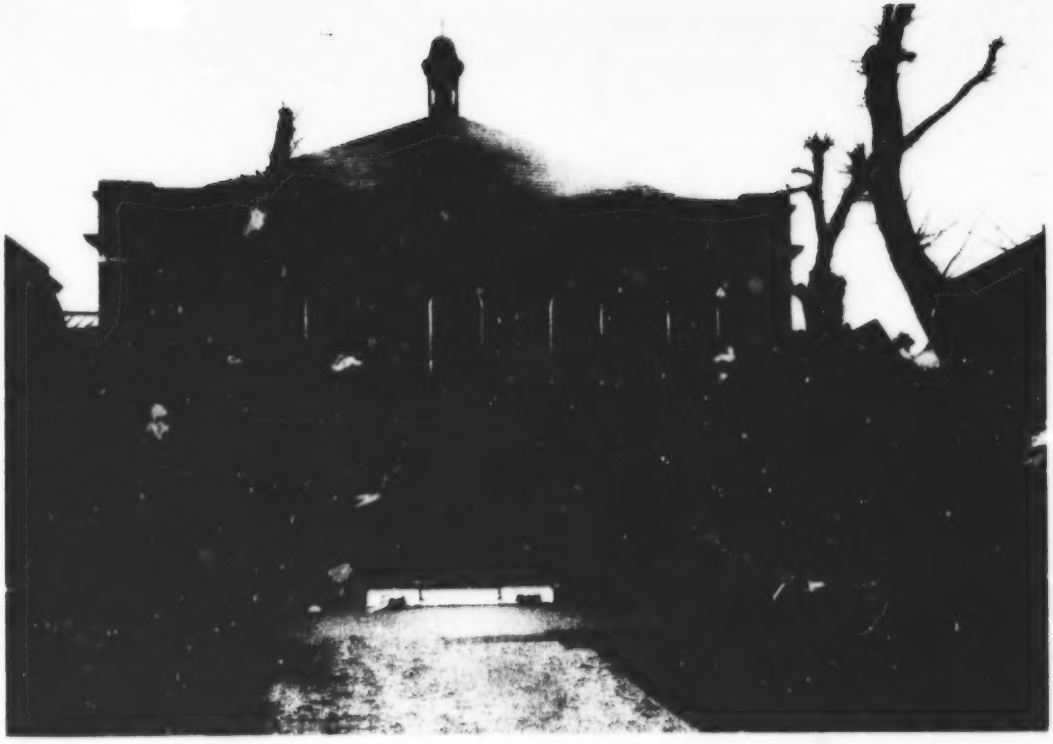
93. Church of Saint-Eustache, 123 Saint-Louis, St. Eustache, Quebec
Constructed originally built 1783, rebuilt 1841 by Joseph Robillard; **Material** stone. While Thomas Baillairgé was establishing a school of church design in the Quebec City area, a separate but related school of church architecture emerged in the Montreal region, beginning with St. Eustache. In 1841 work was begun to repair the church, which had been damaged in the Rebellion of 1837. The original twin-towered composition was kept, but the flat, plain surface of the three-bay original was transformed into a thoroughly Neoclassical design. Two tiers of orders where applied, which neatly geometricized the wall, drawing the towers into the whole by the precise repetition of identical units. The towers end in rounded cupolas rather than in spires, a treatment that was correct in antique terms. The church has a certain sculptural quality, created by the prominent door and window surrounds, and by the quoins. Originally the facade had no pediment (the present one was added in 1906 by the architect Sawyer). Several similar churches exist in the Montreal area, including Sainte-Rose in Laval, l'Assomption in l'Assomption, and Saint-Barthélemy in St-Barthélemy. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

disappear, becoming homogenous with the rest of the facade, and their spires rise as decorations above the end bays. No elaborate surface treatments obscure the clean line of this essay in rational composition. The Montreal school was smaller and more limited in its variations than the Quebec City school.

Few of the principal British writers tackled the problem of the Neoclassical religious structure,[3] and so there are no schools of conservative and advanced modes of Neoclassicism in church architecture. The traditional elevations of the Anglican church and of the reformist chapel remained the underlying format for churches built in Canada during these years. The traditional elevation of the Anglican church consisted of a gable-ended building, faced with a free-standing or an applied order, crowned with a pediment and a spire, as at the Trinity Anglican Cathedral, Quebec City (Fig. 94). The reformist chapel was three to five bays wide (the centre, one to three bays serving as doors), two storeys, and without a spire or tower. The type was first set forward at City Road Methodist Chapel, London[4] (Fig. 95). Neoclassicism influenced these buildings by encouraging a more linear treatment of the wall surface, by introducing antique details, and, in some cases, by attempting a rational interpretation of the traditional elevations of these buildings.

Creation of a rational elevation was a problem particularly for builders of Anglican churches, for a spire rising from the slopes of the roof was visually illogical. Generally two solutions were attempted, as these examples show. A church by John Ewart (Fig. 96) which is very close to Soane's church designs[5] illustrates one solution. An order of pilasters, and a heavy entablature and parapet create a stylar order to the facade. The centre bay projects slightly, to serve as a base for the

94. Holy Trinity Anglican Cathedral, 31 Desjardins, Quebec City, Quebec
Constructed 1804; **Architects** Captain William Hall and Major William Robe; **Material** stone. A principal example of the influence of Palladianism on Canadian church architecture is Trinity Anglican Cathedral in Quebec City. Trinity Anglican was modelled on Britain's principal Anglican church, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, and the general form of the London church was the one used on virtually all of the Anglican churches of the day. As in the London building, the rectangular hall of Trinity Anglican Cathedral is laid out so that the entrance is on the gable end, which has been arranged to form a pediment with applied order. A tower rises above the pediment with no transitional elements between the two. Subsequent Neoclassical churches follow the composition outlined here, but they attempt to relate more logically the spire to the building, to suit Neoclassical tastes. Later churches are also without the sculptural qualities of this building, imparted by the dentils and the rusticated door mouldings. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)



95. City Road Methodist Chapel, City Road, London, England

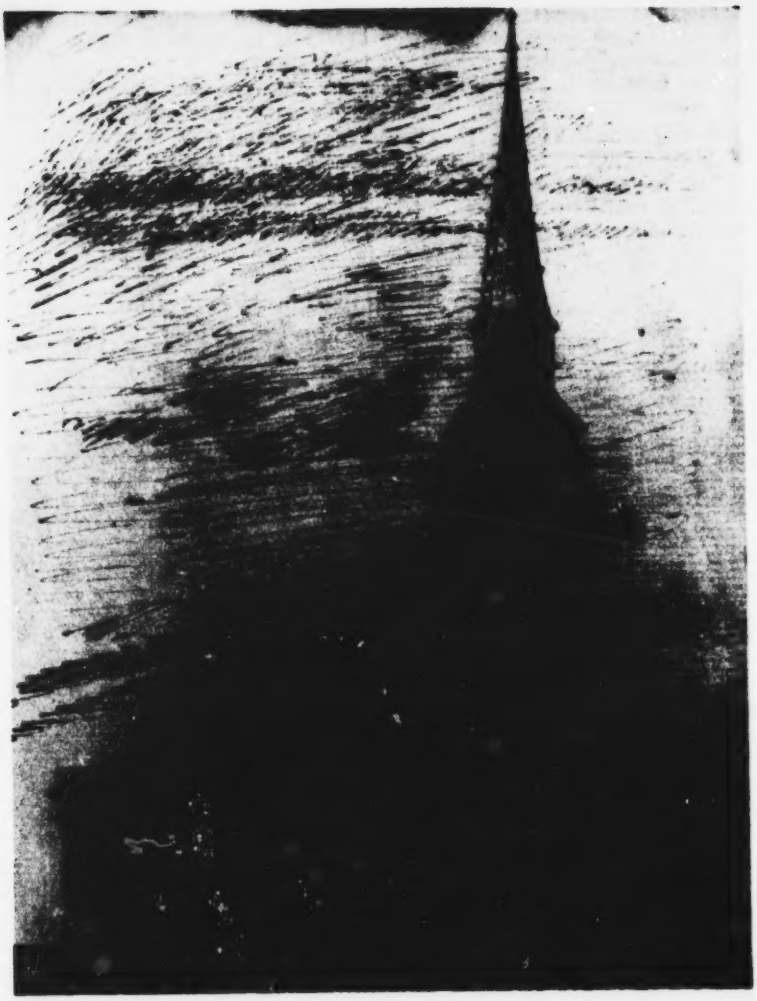
Constructed 1771. The traditional elevation of the reformist chapel was first produced here, at the City Road Methodist Chapel, the parent chapel of Methodism. The entrance was located under a pediment, and the facade was three to five bays wide, the openings always circular-headed. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the reformist chapel was built without a spire to distinguish it from the Anglican church, and were otherwise plainer, soberer than the buildings of the Established Church. The model of this building was followed wherever Methodists, Baptists and other of the reformist sects went, until the middle of the next century. (National Monuments Record, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England)

tower. The tower itself has been modified. It is not a soaring medieval spire, but instead it consists of staged polygonal forms, each drawn from antique models, the Tower of the Winds and the Monument of Lysicrates (Figs 5 and 6). The tower rises from a high parapet which disguises the slope of the roofline. In this manner, the tower appears to rise from a flat surface instead of a sloping roof.

Robert Charles Wetherell's solution at the English church in Hamilton (Fig. 97) was to make the tower and its base almost a separate structure from the hall. This is a very rationalistic division between the functional part of the buildings, and its strictly decorative, symbolic feature. In this solution a simple portico substitutes for a pediment and order.

96. St. Andrew's Church, Church and Adelaide Streets, Toronto, Ontario

Constructed 1830-31, tower added in 1841; **Demolished; Architects** John Ewart, tower added by John G. Howard; **Material** plastered brick. St. Andrew's Church was a fine essay in the flattened linearism of the Neoclassical style. A high parapet was used to hide the gable end of the roof and to provide a logically flat base from which the tower rose. A slight projection of the centre bay kept the tower distinct, while a common entablature united all three bays. Antique devices include eared trim around the centre window and around the ventilator in the tower, urns, and a staged spire borrowed from the Tower of the Winds and the Monument of Lysicrates (Figs 5 and 6). The system of applied pilasters and roof trim was continued around the sides and back of the building. The composition is precise, carefully designed, rational and altogether satisfying. (Metropolitan Toronto Library Board)

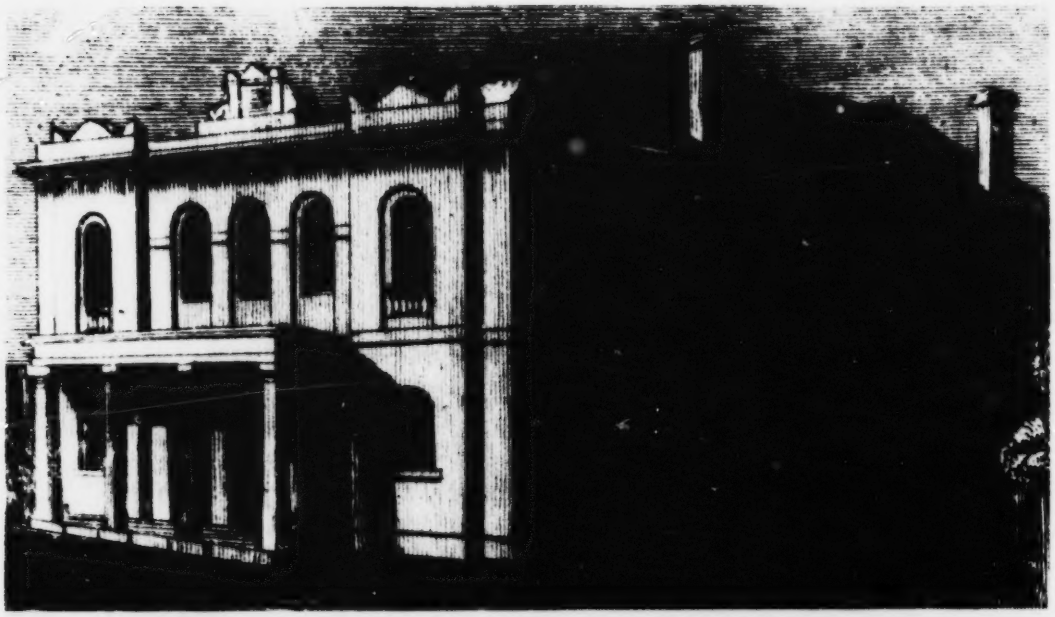


97. Christ's Church, Hamilton, Ontario

Constructed 1837-42 by Simpson and Tovell, contractors; Kenny Fitzpatrick, mason; and William Hill, plasterer; **Demolished; Architect** Robert Charles Wetherell; **Material** wood stuccoed and scored to resemble stone. Christ's Church's traditional tower and spire composition is different from St. Andrew's. Here the tower advances beyond the main hall as an almost completely separate unit, so that the functional part of the church and its symbolic feature are kept distinct. A heavy entablature, high parapet, elongated facade and classically staged spire (whose height, one assumes, is exaggerated in this drawing) are all familiar features of Neoclassicism. Wetherell was a British architect who practised in Hamilton in the 1840s, advertising cottages, farmhouses, taverns, stores, shop fronts, villas and public buildings, as well as maps, plans and views of cities and of landscapes. Dundurn Castle was his major work. (Archives of Ontario)

Builders of reformist chapels produced facades that were interesting linear compositions. The British Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Montreal (Fig. 98), and its imitator, Holy Trinity Chapel[6] in Quebec City (Fig. 99), turn the two-storey, five-bay facade of the chapel into a network of blind arcades, stringcourses and inset panels. The design of the facade of Holy Trinity Chapel is really quite illogical with an arched panel cutting through the base of the pediment; nevertheless, the linear effect is an original, thoroughly Neoclassical interpretation.

Some church builders were concerned solely with the programme of antique decoration and did not involve themselves in the erudite problems of rational composition. An outstanding example was Trinity Church in Saint John (Fig. 100), whose mighty Roman Doric order was surely the finest ever erected



98. British Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Saint James Street, Montreal, Quebec

Constructed 1820-21 by Joseph Clarke and Teavill Appleton; **Demolished; Material** stone. The unknown architect of the British Wesleyan Methodist Chapel deserves credit for the earliest use of Greek Revival motifs design in Canada. The Grecian Doric order, anthemia and linearized facade with blind arcading are all surprising on such an early building. Bosworth noted "It is of cut stone, and the architecture is of the Grecian Doric order, with a portico corresponding.... It is justly considered as one of the most beautiful edifices of the kind in the city" and Buckingham states that "It is a very handsome building, with Doric portico, and good exterior, while the interior is extremely elegant and commodious...." It was certainly the inspiration for other, later chapels, such as the Congregational and Baptist chapels of Montreal, and Holy Trinity Chapel in Quebec City. (Newton Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta: or, a New Picture of Montreal, embracing the Early History and Present State of the City and Island of Montreal*, Montreal: R.W.S. MacKay, 1846, p. 111; Public Archives Canada, C-13333)

99. Holy Trinity Chapel, 9 Saint-Stanislas Street, Quebec City, Quebec
Constructed 1824 by John Philips, mason; and G. Clark, carpenter; **Architect** George Blaiklock; **Material** stone. Holy Trinity Chapel's five-bay front with recessed blind arcading compares closely with Montreal's British Wesleyan Methodist Chapel. Similar also is the centre-piece consisting of two Greek Doric columns framed by piers, although here the motif is attached to the wall, and is not a free-standing portico. Both buildings have high, round-headed windows on the upper storey, and shorter, segmentally arched windows below. Holy Trinity differs in one important aspect, which is the box feature atop the pediment, anticipating the spires that the reformist chapels would adopt in later years, in imitation of Anglican churches. Holy Trinity was built at the expense of Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell as a Chapel of Ease to the Anglican cathedral. George Blaiklock is a shadowy figure in Quebec architecture; one assumes he was related to Henry Musgrave Blaiklock. George appears later in 1826, involved in the building of the Montreal jail, which was designed by Henry. George died prematurely in 1828, and Holy Trinity is his only known work. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

100. Trinity Church, Saint John, New Brunswick
Constructed 1854 by Fenety and Raymond; **Burned** 1877; **Architect** Matthew Stead; **Material** wood and stone. The strictist Neoclassicist would have been pleased with the correctness of the Roman Doric order although a purist would have been unhappy with Trinity's old fashioned spire. Satisfying also are its monumental scale, and the way the windowed wall seems to dissolve behind the colossal order. Only the facade and the interior of Trinity were Neoclassical. The original wooden church (*left*) was begun in 1788 by Bean and Dowling and was ready for use at Christmas 1791. In February 1849 a fire destroyed the cupola and damaged the facade, and a few months later Matthew Stead prepared plans for repairs. How extensive Stead's plans were is uncertain; in any case, by 1854 the parishioners voted for further repairs and a new tower and facade to make the western entrance "suitable and convenient." Judging by the ambitious design, the later facade was probably Stead's work as well. Sadly this magnificent church burned in the Great Fire of 1877 which destroyed much of Saint John. Matthew Stead (1808-79), from Ludlow, Shropshire, England, was very active in New Brunswick during the mid-nineteenth century. He worked on the Provincial Mental Hospital (1847), the 1879 renovations to the Saint John Custom House (Fig. 45) which saw the addition of its mansard roof, the penitentiary at Dorchester, the Saint John Post Office, and other private and commercial buildings. (Notman Photographic Archives)

in Canada. The columns gave the facade a stylar treatment exaggerated by large windows which seem to dissolve the wall space between the columns. The tower rises from above the pediment with no apology for the inconsistency. Another example showing fine, although more modest antique decoration was the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Toronto (Fig. 101) whose facade had a fairly thorough programme of Roman details.

101. Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Richmond Street, Toronto, Ontario

Constructed 1844 by Richard Woodsworth; **Demolished.** Like many of the other reformist chapels of the day, the Wesleyan Chapel of Toronto was a rectangular hall with a five-bay facade. The antique order is Roman Doric, and a high, staged parapet behind hides the slope of the roofline. Although the chapel is built of Toronto's ubiquitous red brick, the congregation felt compelled to paint the building's facade a marble white. Most other Toronto buildings made a handsome show of the polychromatic contrast between the dark brick and white stone or wooden trim. (Public Archives Canada, C-4428).

102. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, 340 Simcoe Street, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario **Constructed** 1831 by John Edward Clyde and Saxton Burr; **Architect** Cooper; **Materials** brick and wood. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church is justly famous as Ontario's finest Greek Revival church. Notes on the plans of the church credit the design to one "Cooper," and say that the facade -but of course not the spire - is based on the Temple of Theseus. Greek Revival churches had both prostyle (having a free-standing order in front) and *in antis* facades, this one being a particularly fine example of the prostyle. The spire shown dates from 1834, when Kivas Tully built a new one to replace the original burned that year. Tully's spire is shorter than the spire originally erected on the church. The original church on the site was burned by the Americans in 1813 during the War of 1812. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

The Greek Revival adapted itself well to Anglican and reformist buildings, particularly to the Anglican and Presbyterian church, which was already a temple-fronted building. Indeed, the baseless Greek Doric order had appeared for the first time in Canada on churches, and the earliest example seems to have been the British Wesleyan Chapel in Montreal (Fig. 98), followed closely by Holy Trinity Chapel of Quebec (Fig. 99). In both cases the Greek was used simply as a decorative addition to the basic chapel elevation, and there was no hint of the temple form to come.

A full-fledged temple-plan church appears in areas of American influence,[7] making its debut at St. Andrew's in Niagara-on-the-Lake (Fig. 102), where a baseless Doric order stretches across the entire facade. The

prostyle-plan church was fairly popular, as shown elsewhere in the Montreal Second Congregational Church (Fig. 103) where the order is Ionic. Also to be found was the church facade in which the entrance was placed *in antis*, as at Zion Congregational in Toronto, the Garrison Chapel in Halifax and Plymouth Trinity in Sherbrooke (Figs 104–106).

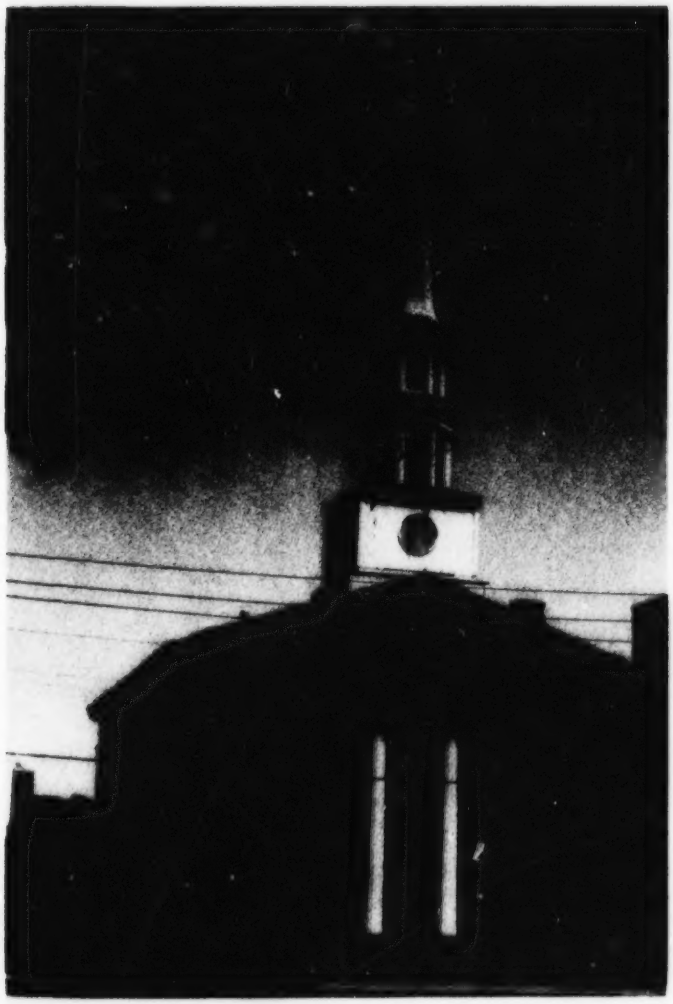
103. Second Congregational Church, 25 (then 138) Gosford, Montreal, Quebec

Constructed 1844; **Demolished** 1901; **Architect** John Wells. Montreal's Second Congregational Church seems to have been the foremost of the prostyle churches in Quebec. Additionally, it was a rare example of an Ionic prostyle building (they were usually Doric) and was heralded at the time as the "pure Grecian style of Architecture." The church served its congregation until 1860, when it became the chapel of the Imperial Garrison. After 1871, it housed several theatres, and then finished its days as a warehouse. Apparently architect John Wells arrived in Montreal about 1830, for early in 1831 he called for tenders for work on the prison in Montreal, whose construction he superintended, to plans by Henry Musgrave Blaiklock. Wells's principal work was his supervision of the Bank of Montreal (1845), designed by Scottish architect David Rhind. (Public Archives Canada, PA 16965)

104. Zion Congregational Church, Bay and Adelaide Streets, Toronto, Ontario

Contructed 1839-40; **Burned** 1855; **Architect** William Thomas; **Material** stuccoed brick. Among the *in antis* churches, Zion Congregational stood out as Ontario's foremost example. The free-standing columns were Greek, a pilaster order framed the corners of the building, and a Doric entablature encircled the whole. Thomas had the brick walls stuccoed and scored to imitate the masonry construction of true Greek architecture. Although the classical styles were really intended for stone construction, few architects or builders worried about substituting brick and wood, and indeed, they often contrasted red brick with white-painted wood for some handsome, if unclassical, effects. (United Church Archives)

105. Garrison Chapel, Cogwell and Brunswick Streets, Halifax, Nova Scotia
Constructed 1844-46; **Burned** 1928; **Architect** Colonel Calder, R.E.; **Material** wood. The Garrison Chapel was a handsome, carefully detailed example of the *in antis* Greek Revival building, and possibly the Maritimes' best example. The *Halifax Herald* of 1896 recalled the reaction to the church at the time of its completion: "In appearance the Garrison Chapel is not a very imposing structure, but it is understood that utility is considered as the *sine qua non* in such matters by the military authorities. Considerable criticism was leveled at Colonel Calder, R.E. when it was completed for its lack of special ecclesiastical distinction, but the building has thoroughly served its purpose... the interior decorations are appropriate to a house of prayer while devoid of needless display." Undoubtedly the lack of a spire troubled those who thought the church should look more church-like, although omission of a spire simply made the church more correct stylistically. Calder erred in giving his windows a segmental arch, instead of the flat lintel of the true Greek. The Garrison Chapel seems to have had a significant influence locally. The *Nova Scotian* reported in 1846 that the new Mechanics' Institute in Halifax was to have "...pillars...similar to those of the Garrison Chapel." Perhaps more important was the influence it exerted on Maritime church architecture along with the influence exerted by the Germain Street Methodist Church (Fig. 107) of Saint John. From the 1840s to the 1860s, numerous rural churches, usually Methodist and Baptist, were erected having the simple gable end entrance, spireless, with a pedimented gable like the Halifax building. (Public Archives of Nova Scotia).



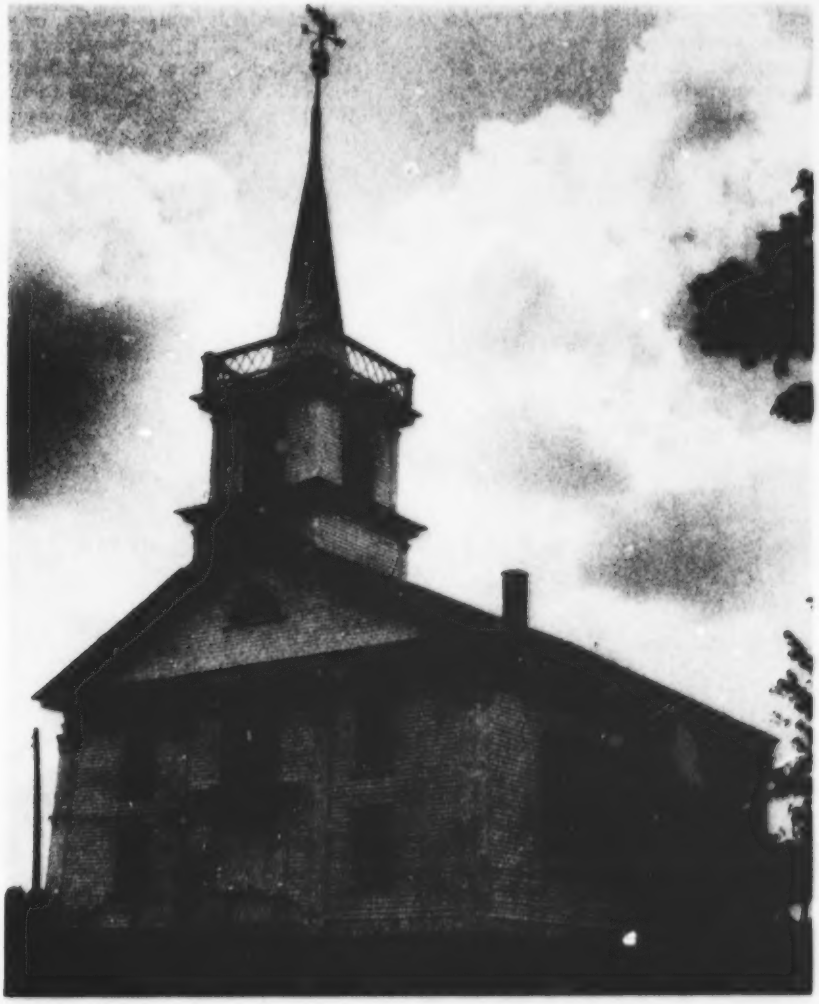
106. Plymouth Trinity Church, 380 Dufferin Street, Sherbrooke, Quebec

Constructed 1848; **Material** brick and wood. Plymouth Trinity is one of Canada's two finest surviving Neoclassical churches in the Greek Revival mode, the other being St. Andrew's in Niagara-on-the-Lake. Unlike St. Andrew's, Plymouth Trinity has an *in antis* rather than a prostyle form. The twin baseless Greek Doric columns are echoed in the strip pilasters to either side, all supporting a wide entablature which rings the building. The city of Sherbrooke possesses one other fine Neoclassical building, the former court house, built by William Footner. It is also a red brick building with a Greek Doric order. Plymouth Trinity is the second church on its site, the first having burned a few years earlier. The congregation these two churches served was composed of Americans from Massachusetts, and the similarity of this building to churches near the border in New England is striking. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

Small rural churches of the three major religious groups contented themselves with their traditional elevations, using only the strictly decorative details of Neoclassicism, such as antique columns or a fanlight at the door, a classically staged spire, or a system of broad flat pilasters with matching entablature. These details appear on Catholic churches throughout rural Quebec. Reformist chapels (Figs 107 and 108) favoured massive pilaster

107. Methodist Church, Germain Street, Saint John, New Brunswick

Constructed 1839; **Burned** 1877; **Material** wood. The Germain Street Methodist Church appears to have been the first of many wooden Maritime churches with Neoclassical details applied to a simple, rectangular, gable-ended building. A plain pilaster order rules the facade of the Germain Street church, and with a deeply eaved pediment, bull's-eye window, heavily framed door and windows, and exaggerated dentils, the building creates a commanding presence indeed. This type of gable-ended chapel, with applied order and enlarged pediment, became a standard formula of design for the rural Maritime reformist - and even Anglican - church throughout the 1840s-60s. The spire of Trinity Church (Fig. 100) can be seen at the left. (New Brunswick Museum).



108. Congregational Church, Eaton Corner, Quebec

Constructed 1840; **Material** wood. A simpler variety of the Neoclassical church used only an applied order and a pediment gable end. The flutes on the pilasters are incomplete, and circle back just before the centre, making an interesting variation on the Greek anthemion motif. Other classical details include a flanked window and a fan window. Although classicism was a style intended for masonry construction, we can see by the quality of the carving in entablature, cornice and pilasters that it adapted itself well to wood. This simple type of Greek Revival church was found both with and without spires, throughout Ontario, the Eastern Townships and the Maritimes. The Congregational Church was in use until 1900, and thereafter it was used for private interests until 1920. It was again used for a church throughout the 1920s, but was then abandoned. In 1859 the Compton County Historical Museum Society took over the structure as its museum. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)

109. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ontario
Constructed 1820; **Burned** 1888; **Architect** Archibald Fraser. The elements of Neoclassicism were frequently applied to smaller churches. Here a flat pilaster order neatly divides the facade into three parts, framing each of the three fanlit doors. The tower is classically polygonal in form, capped by a cupola rather than a spire. Along the sides of the building are two tiers of windows lighting the interior space. Before the advent of Neoclassicism, the side windows of churches usually consisted of a single row of very long windows. Naturally the interior gallery intersected such long windows at their midway point. Neoclassicists felt that rather than treating the interior of the churches as a single volume with a gallery inserted, it was more logical to treat the interior as two parts: ground floor and gallery separately. Therefore two rows of windows were called for, not one; but such logic was rarely adhered to, and in Canada one could find Neoclassical churches with a single tier. Archibald Fraser, born and trained as a builder in Edinburgh, Scotland, erected St. Andrew's Presbyterian, the "Stone Frigate" which was a naval stores building and is still standing, and several houses. (Public Archives Canada, C-20881)

orders, large pediments, and sometimes even spires, as they resembled Anglican churches more and more. Anglican and Presbyterian churches use the same decorative details often with a facade regulated by a pilaster order. The steeples of these churches become less exaggerated, built on neat, cubic towers (Fig. 109). A spireless belfry was adopted in some rural churches,[8] combining style and economy.

CONCLUSION

Times change, tastes change. The purist, simple, restrained and delicate tastes of the Age of Reason had lingered well into the nineteenth century, but at last they were supplanted by the eclectic, complex, rich and heavy tastes of Victoria's era. The taste for Greece and Rome palled and could not compete with interest in Europe's more recent historical past, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The severe, ascetic surfaces of the Neoclassical building seemed lifeless and dry; the Italianate and the Gothic appealed for their colour, richness and liveliness. The Gothic Revival and the Italianate styles supplanted the Neoclassic in public, commercial, domestic and religious architecture.

Public and commercial buildings especially favoured the Italianate style, with its Italian orders, arched and segmental window and door openings, heavy door and window mouldings, decorative carving, bracketted eaves, and vermiculated masonry (Figs 110 and 111). In many cases, the Italianate vocabulary of decoration was applied to the underlying structure of the Chambersonian composition, surely the most durable aspect of Neoclassicism. (The more rational Neoclassicism of Soane and company, and the Greek Revival disappeared entirely.) Since the Italianate was another of the many classical styles, the transition to it from Neoclassicism was not abrupt.

Domestic buildings that remained within the classical stream also adopted the Italianate style, choosing either the elevation of the Italian Renaissance palazzo, or the more irregular form of the rural Tuscan villa. The decorative treatments used in the public and commercial buildings are also applied to both types of Italianate houses. However, we see more of the Gothic being applied to domestic buildings than to public buildings (Fig. 77); in the years of transition there is an eclectic mixture of Gothic and Neoclassic on individual buildings.

Churches adopted the Italianate and the Gothic styles as well. The Catholic church in Quebec retained the underlying composition established during the Neoclassical era, but this composition was enriched by Baroque and Renaissance treatments. The reformist chapel with its spireless, five-bay facade disappeared; instead, it acquired the elevation and the spire of the Anglican church. Despite some Gothic/Neoclassic and some Italianate/Neoclassic churches (Figs 112 and 113), the Gothic Revival thoroughly and completely became the language of English church architecture.

Basically three things survived from Neoclassicism. A taste for clear, rational composition was never abandoned and appeared again and again in the important structures of the nineteenth century, most notably in public buildings such as the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. This preference for clearly expressed order, one might even say conservatism in planning and design, was characteristic of Canadian architecture, making it distinct from the excesses of British and American Victorian architecture.

Historical accuracy, first pursued by the Neoclassicists, became a consistent theme of nineteenth century architecture. Everything from the smallest decorative detail to the entire structure of representative examples of all of the historical periods were painstakingly scrutinized, and then adapted to modern architecture. In succession the classical styles, Renaissance and Baroque periods, and the various phases of the Gothic were examined with scientific accuracy and then applied, a process of revival and adaptation initiated by the Neoclassicists.

On a more fundamental level, certain of the basic elements of classicism which Neoclassicism had introduced became basic features of vernacular building in Canada. Symmetry and regularity were natural aspects of basic building, for they made construction more straightforward. But other features, such as returning eaves suggesting a pediment, end boards at the corners and mouldings around the doors which are like pilasters, window transoms and sidelights, all illustrate clearly how Neoclassicism became a cultural reflex in Canada. At this level the style lost all connection with its foreign origins and became truly indigenous.

It is understandable therefore that classicism had a welcome reception here when it returned in the late nineteenth and early

110. Frontenac County Court House, 1 Court Street Kingston, Ontario

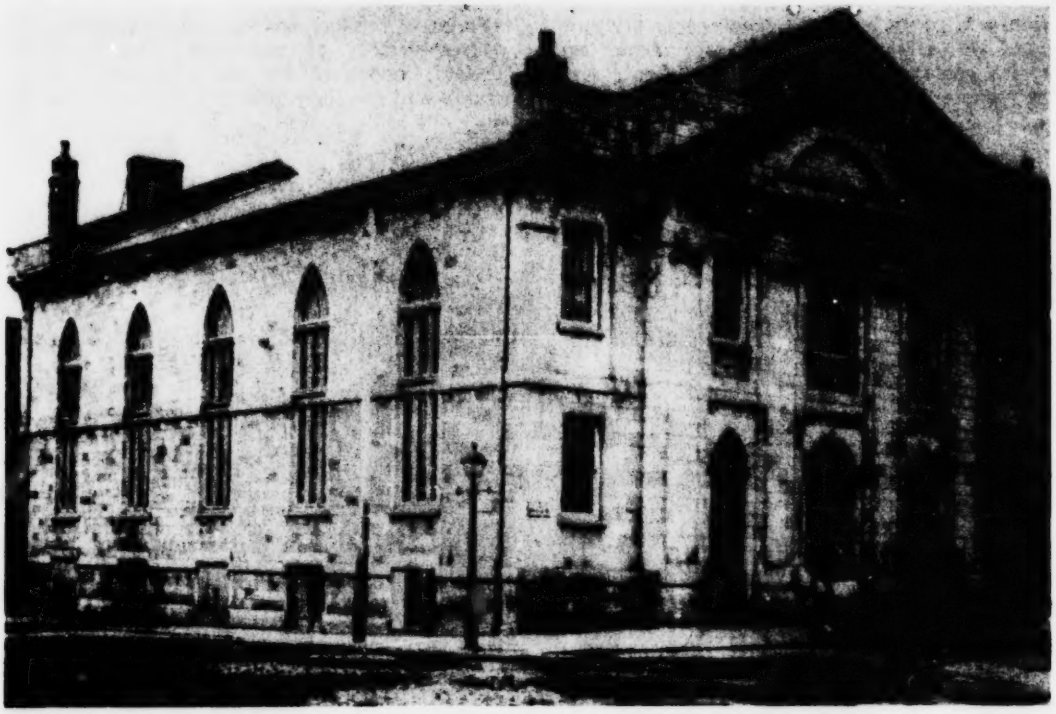
Constructed 1855-58 by Scobell and Tossell; **Architect** Edward Horsey; **Material** stone. Major buildings of the 1850s often combine features from several of the historical styles. Italianate and antique Greek details co-exist in this fine Chambersonian composition. The similarity of the composition to Kingston City Hall is readily apparent (Fig. 1). The order of the portico is Greek Ionic, and ventilators have been cut into the frieze over the end walls (not visible here), after the manner of the Greek Revival. But the windows on the end pavilion, which are grouped in threes, have hooded mouldings, an Italianate treatment. Originally the Frontenac County Court House had a very shallow dome, unlike the one seen here. After a fire in 1874, which severely damaged the interior, Kingston architect John Power rebuilt the dome, and gave it the clerestory windows seen today. Edward Horsey arrived in Kingston in the 1830s from Devonshire, England. He worked first as a carpenter and builder, and later advertised himself as architect and civil engineer. Among his other works are several houses and commercial blocks, and the Belleville Court House and Jail. Horsey worked for a while as architect of the provincial penitentiary. (Heritage Recording Services, Parks Canada)

111. Custom House, 2 St-André Street, Quebec City, Quebec
Constructed 1856-57 by Thomas McGreevy; **Architect** William Thomas; **Material** stone. At first glance, William Thomas' custom house seems thoroughly Neoclassical. There is a Chambersonian composition, that is, a block whose main entrance is on the long side through a giant Roman Doric portico, beneath a crowning dome. But the window surrounds have a heavy Italianate influence. The voussoirs with alternating advancing and receding stones, the projecting keystones and segmental arches are all Italianate motifs of the day. Indeed, the Italianate became the style of most public and commercial buildings in subsequent years. This custom house was built to replace the 1830 custom house (Fig. 37) considered after its construction to be too small and too far from the water. Born in Stroud in Gloucester, William Thomas (1800-1860) had practised in Leamington Spa before immigrating to Canada about 1843. His first commission was the Zion Congregational Church in Toronto (Fig. 104), and thereafter his career was marked with several successes. He built the court house in Niagara-on-the-Lake, the Don Jail, the St. Lawrence Hall and several churches in the Toronto area. In the 1850s he worked outside of Ontario, winning the competition for the Quebec Custom House. With his sons as partners, Thomas erected the court house in Halifax and several commercial buildings on Granville Street in that same city. Except for his Neoclassical Zion Congregational Church, and his partly Neoclassical custom house, his tastes were truly Italianate. (Archives nationales du Québec, Quebec).

twentieth centuries. The *Beaux-Arts* style, a grandiose style of French and American origins replete with columns, pediments and the whole vocabulary of classicism, was tailored to the monumental public building. A quieter variety of classicism, the Colonial Revival, appeared for domestic structures, schools and the like; indeed it was a revival of

112. United Church, Lower Selmah, Nova Scotia

Constructed 1865 by William Wiswell; **Material** wood. As the Neoclassical style waned and other historical styles appeared, a blending of the old and the new was often attempted. In this rural Maritime church of the 1860s, one thing distinguishes it from its cousins of the 1840s and 1850s: the Italianate label mouldings over the windows. The union of Neoclassical and the Italianate was not uncommon as we have seen, nor was it awkward, since they were both fundamentally classical styles. Others of these small, wooden Maritime churches combined Gothic windows with classical proportions and details. William Wiswell was a builder from Halifax, whose family had come to Nova Scotia from Massachusetts in 1752. Connections between the Maritimes and New England remained strong, as buildings such as this one attest. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building)



113. American Presbyterian Church, Corner of Saint-Jacques and Victoria, Montreal, Quebec

Constructed 1825-26; **Demolished; Architect** William Riley; **Material** stone. A combination of Neoclassic and Gothic was rarely attempted, since the two great architectural styles of Western culture, the classic and the Gothic, are virtually antithetical in planning, decoration, in their very spirits. But during the early part of the nineteenth century, the Gothic came to be regarded by the English as the only proper style for religious structures even while the Neoclassic enjoyed great popularity. Inevitably a few structures, such as the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal, tried for the best of both styles. The two-storey, five-bay elevation of the American Presbyterian Church, with its pediment over the centre three bays, is typical of the reformist chapels we examined earlier. Strip pilasters, blind arcades, stringcourses, fanlight and parapet are all familiar Neoclassical features. But the architect could not resist that most characteristic of Gothic motifs, the pointed window. Eventually the Gothic style replaced classicism entirely in religious architecture. (Public Archives Canada, C-65419)

our own eighteenth century classicism and nineteenth century Neoclassicism. The taste for the period survives today, in the classically styled houses of suburbia and in the popularity the original structures enjoy among heritage preservationists. Seen in this perspective, the period of consistent development for Neoclassicism ended about 1860, but its underlying features left a lasting impression on Canadian architecture.

APPENDIX. LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1 City Hall, Kingston, Ont.
2 Queens' County Court House, 141 Church Street, Liverpool, N.S.
3 The Parthenon, Athens, Greece
4 The Orders and Their Parts
5 The Tower of the Winds, Athens, Greece
6 The Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, Athens, Greece
7 Pantheon, Rome, Italy
8 Arch of Constantine, Rome, Italy
9 Trajan's Column, Rome, Italy
10 Colosseum, Rome, Italy
11 Temple of Poseidon, Paestum, Italy
12 Primitive Hut, drawn 1755
13 Villa Rotunda, Vicenza, Italy
14 Holkham Hall, Norfolk, England
15 Somerset House, London, England
16 Custom House, Dublin, Ireland
17 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, Scotland
18 Bank of England, London, England
19 Park Crescent, London, England
20 Neoclassical Villa
21 Proposal for a Church
22 The Greek and Roman Orders
23 Downing College, Cambridge, England
24 St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Sixth Avenue, New York City, N.Y.
25 Doorway
26 A Greek Revival House
27 School House, Rhode Island, U.S.
28 Nelson's Monument, Notre-Dame Street, Montreal, Que.
29 Monument to Wolfe and Montcalm, Dufferin Terrace, Quebec City, Que.
30 Palace Gate, Quebec City, Que.
31 Saint John County Court House, 20 Sydney Street, Saint John, N.B.
32 Arts Building, McGill University, Montreal, Que.
33 Parliament Buildings, Quebec City, Que.
34 Peterborough County Court House, 50 Water Street, Peterborough, Ont.
35 Parliament Buildings, Toronto, Ont.
36 Saint-Roch Convent, Église Street, Quebec City, Que.
37 Custom House, Quebec City, Que.
38 Province House, 165 Richmond Street, Charlottetown, P.E.I.
39 Colonial Building, 78 Military Road, St. John's, Nfld.
40 Charlotte County Court House, 123A Montague Street, St. Andrew's, N.B.
41,42 Osgoode Hall, Queen Street, Toronto, Ont.
43 County of York Magistrates' Court, 57 Adelaide Street, Toronto, Ont.
44 Laval University, University Street, Quebec City, Que.
45 Custom House, Prince William Street, Saint John, N.B.
46 Bank of British North America, Yonge and Wellington streets, Toronto, Ont.
47 Victoria and Grey Trust Building, Kingston, Ont.
48 72 Ste-Ursule, Quebec City, Que.
49 Gore Bank, James and York streets, Hamilton, Ont.
50 Marine Hospital, Quebec City, Que.
51 Bonsecours Market, 300 Saint Paul Street, Montreal, Que.
52 Upper Canada Academy, Cobourg, Ont.
53 Exchange, Toronto, Ont.
54 Bank of British North America, 212-14 Saint-Jacques, Montreal, Que.
55 City Bank, Place d'Armes, Montreal, Que.
56 Concert Hall, 37 Saint-Louis, Quebec City, Que.
57 Seventh Post Office, 10 Toronto Street, Toronto, Ont.
58 Mechanics' Institute, Saint John, N.B.
59 Normal School, Truro, N.S.
60 Yarmouth Academy, 111 Main Street, Yarmouth, N.S.
61 Wilmot Township Hall, 18 Maple Avenue, North York, Ont.
62 County Building, 137 Saint-Paul Street, Brome Lake, Que.
63 Chandler House, 10 Sackville Road, Dorchester, N.B.
64 Anglican Presbytery, 29 Desjardins, Quebec City, Que.
65 9 Haldimand Street, Quebec City, Que.
66 McDougal-Harrison House, 165 Queen Street, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
67 5270 Morris Street, Halifax, N.S.
68 Maplehurst, Maitland, Ont.
69 4 Principale Street, St-Michel, Que.
70 Summerhill, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

71 St. Andrew's Manse, 146 Clergy Street East, Kingston, Ont.
72 Rockwood Villa Stable, Kingston, Ont.
73 Manoir Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Que.
74 Presbytery of Saint Patrick's Church, 7 Saint Stanislas Street, Quebec City, Que.
75 Prince of Wales Terrace, 989-995 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal, Que.
76 Maison Têtu, 25 Sainte-Geneviève Avenue, Quebec City, Que.
77 106 Main Street, Wolfville, N.S.
78 43 d'Auteuil, Quebec City, Que.
79 House in L'Islet, Que.
80 Heroux House, Merrickville, Ont.
81 46 Forest Avenue East, Hamilton, Ont.
82 Maria Doane Leach House, Coffinscroft, N.S.
83 Terrace, Walton Street, Port Hope, Ont.
84 McCord House, Montreal, Que.
85 1714 Robie Street, Halifax, N.S.
86 Mount Fairview, Dundas, Ont.
87 54 North Road, Stanbridge East, Que.
88 Keeler House, 7 Church Street, Colborne, Ont.
89 Church of Saint-Charles Borromée, Charlesbourg, Que.
90 Church of Saint-Roch, Quebec City, Que.
91 Notre-Dame Cathedral, Quebec City, Que.
92 Church of Saint-Grégoire, Nicolet, Que.
93 Church of Saint-Eustache, St. Eustache, Que.
94 Holy Trinity Anglican Cathedral, 31 Desjardins, Quebec City, Que.
95 City Road Methodist Chapel, London, England
96 St. Andrew's Church, Church and Adelaide streets, Toronto, Ont.
97 Christ's Church, Hamilton, Ont.
98 British Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Saint James Street, Montreal, Que.
99 Holy Trinity Chapel, 9 Saint-Stanislas Street, Quebec City, Que.
100 Trinity Church, Saint John, N.B.
101 Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Richmond Street, Toronto, Ont.
102 St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, 340 Simcoe Street, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
103 Second Congregational Church, 25, then 138 Gosford Street, Montreal, Que.
104 Zion Congregational Church, Bay and Adelaide streets, Toronto, Ont.
105 Garrison Chapel, Cogwell and Brunswick streets, Halifax, N.S.
106 Plymouth Trinity Church, 380 Dufferin Street, Sherbrooke, Que.
107 Methodist Church, Germain Street, Saint John, N.B.
108 Congregational Church, Eaton Corner, Que.
109 St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ont.
110 Frontenac County Court House, 1 Court Street, Kingston, Ont.
111 Custom House, St-André Street, Quebec City, Que.
112 United Church, Lower Selmah, N.S.
113 American Presbyterian Church, Saint Jacques and Victoria, Montreal, Que.

ENDNOTES

Introduction

1 "Leo," Kingston Chronicle and Gazette (Kingston), 16 Dec. 1843.

2 Published in London by B.T. Batsford.

3 The interpretation of the Neoclassical Movement as one motivated by historicism and natural philosophy starts with A.E. Richardson, and this interpretation is continued and developed without major contradictions by virtually all the major writers of this century. The most lucid descriptions of Neoclassical architecture of the period are by John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830, 6th ed. (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1977), and Louis Hautecoeur, L'Histoire de l'architecture classique en France, 9 vols. (Paris: A. Picard, 1943-57). See also Irwin, Early, Steegman, and Pierson as cited in the Bibliography.

Neoclassical Architecture: The Theory and the Practice

1 Robert Adam, The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia (London: Robert Adam, 1764), p. 1.

2 Abbé Laugier, Essai sur l'architecture (Paris: Abbé Laugier, 1753) (hereafter cited as Essai), p. 10.

3 Laugier was not the first to express these ideas on the origin of architecture. Many authors before him had put forward similar theories about primitive construction, as had Robert Morris, An Essay in Defence of Modern Architecture (London: Browne, Bickerton, Pote and Walthoe, 1728). It was Laugier's drawings of such a hut, and the clarity and strength of his writing that captured the imagination of practising architects. The principal secondary source on Abbé Laugier is Wolfgang Herrmann, Laugier and Eighteenth Century French Theory (London: A. Zwemmer, 1962), where the author sets Laugier precisely within the philosophical framework of his age. The Essai was Laugier's major work on architecture and was followed by Observations sur l'architecture (Paris: Desaint, 1765), a refutation of his critics.

4 Laugier in fact contradicts himself. In the introduction to the second edition of the Essai he says that beauty in architecture is inherent, and beyond the conditions of association and custom (p. XL); whereas later he advises architects to design new orders relying upon their individual judgment to create beauty (p. 61). The question of absolute and relative beauty raised by the theoreticians remained unsolved in the minds of the Neoclassicists throughout the course of the style.

5 Robert Adam, op.cit.

6 For more on the Palladian style in Canada, see Nathalie Clerk, "L'Influence du style palladien sur l'architecture au Canada," forthcoming publication, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Parks Canada, Ottawa.

7 John Steegman, The Rule of Taste from George I to George IV (London: Macmillan and Co., 1936), p. 114.

8 Joseph Gwilt, Rudiments of Architecture, Practical and Theoretical (London: Priestley and Weale, 1826) (hereafter cited as Rudiments), pp. 152-53.

9 For more on the Picturesque Movement in Canada, see Janet Wright, "Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada: Villas and Cottages Suitable for Persons of Genteel Life and Moderate Fortune," forthcoming publication, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Parks Canada, Ottawa.

10 Joseph Gwilt, An Encyclopaedia of Architecture, Historical, Theoretical, and Practical (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1854) (hereafter cited as Encyclopaedia), 3rd ed., p. 799.

11 The emergence of the modern meaning of the word "style" is fairly recent and is in fact the result of the nineteenth century historians' attempt to classify various historical periods of architecture. It was in the nineteenth century that "style" for the first time came to

have a meaning distinct from "manner" and "mode." Few authors have treated the problem, and then only in the context of other questions. Colvin (1978) examines the role of style in the rise of the modern profession of architect.

Neoclassicism Comes to Canada

1 Upper Canada. House of Assembly, "Petition of Charles Fothergill, 3 January, 1837," in Sessional Papers, 1836-37 (Toronto: House of Assembly, 1837) (hereafter cited as Upper Canada House of Assembly), p. 217.

2 Descriptions of the ruins of Baalbec were given by a Dr. Richardson. Weekly Register (York), 31 July 1823, p. 244.

3 The contents of the Bibliothèque du séminaire de Québec (hereafter cited as BSQ) will be discussed further.

4 G.T. Faribault, Notice sur la Destruction des Archives et bibliothèques des Deux Chambres Legislatives du Canada, lors de l'emeute qui a eu lieu à Montréal le 25 avril 1849 (Quebec: Imprimerie du Canadien, 1849), pp. 6-7.

5 James S. Buckingham, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the other British provinces of North America (London and Paris: Fisher, Son and Co., 1843), p. 461.

6 John G. Howard had practised as an architect, engineer and surveyor in and around London, before coming to Canada. Browne and Purcell were both born and trained in Ireland; Henry Musgrave Blaiklock and his brother George seem to have trained in London. Henry Bower Lane had articled with W.W. Inwood while John Nash had tutored Frederick Hacker.

7 Nathalie Clerk, op.cit.

8 The most important surviving collection is the library of the Séminaire de Québec, whose works include Blondel, various editions of D'Aviler, Delaitre, various editions of Philibert de l'Orme, de Rossi's Palazzi di Roma, Alexandre Francine, Adam Fritach, Mathurin Tousse, Jombert, Le Virloys, Nativelle, Nicholson, numerous editions of Palladio, Perthius' Traité d'architecture rurale, Quatremere de Quincy, l'Ordre françois [sic] trouvé dans la nature, Roubo, Scamozzi, Stieglitz, Thierry, Toussaint, Vignola, Vitry and Vitruvius. Thomas Baillairgé willed to his nephew Charles Baillairgé his copies of Blondel, Philibert de l'Orme, Antiquitiés romaines, Vignola, and James Gibb. Québec. Archives du Séminaire de Québec (hereafter cited as ASQ), Pol. 19, No. 59, Will of Thomas Baillairgé, Quebec, witnessed by MM. Petitclerc et de Foy, 5 Aug. 1848.

9 Some formal architectural training was available in Toronto, Quebec and Halifax. It was given in Quebec in the Séminaire, through the teachings and writings of Abbé Jérôme Demers. His work was entitled Précis d'architecture, pour servir de suite au Traité Elémentaire de Physique à l'usage du Séminaire de Québec. Various copies survive. Two are in the Archives du séminaire de Québec and are dated 1828. One in the Archives de l'Université de Montréal is inscribed "Joseph Bailey étudiant, au Séminaire de Nicolet et 1 décembre 1839." F.H. Belle Ile transcribed the copy in the Séminaire de Nicolet dated 1828. For further analysis of this important work, see Nathalie Clerk op.cit., and Luc Noppen, "Le role de l'Abbé Jérôme Demers dans l'élaboration d'une architecture néo-classique au Québec," Journal of Canadian Art History, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Summer 1975), pp. 19-33. In Toronto, John Howard and Thomas Young taught architectural drawing and ornamental architectural drawing, respectively, at Upper Canada College. See Upper Canada. House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1836, Vol. 1, Appendix 64, p. 4. Architectural training was given by one John L. Thompson at the Halifax Mechanics' Institute. See Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), Manuscript Division, MG24, C4, Vol. 6, n.p., John L. Thompson to George L. O'Brien, Halifax, 27 Dec. 1836. The Montreal Mechanics' Institute offered instruction and architects William Footner and John Ostell were at various times on the

executive of this body. Footner was the corresponding secretary (in 1847) and Ostell the president (in 1846). See Canada. House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1847 (Montreal: House of Assembly, 1847), Vol. 6, p. 83; and Canada. House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1846 (Montreal: House of Assembly, 1846), Vol. 5, p. 88. Frederick Cumberland was president of Toronto's Mechanics' Institute for a while. Canada. House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1852-53 (Montreal: House of Assembly, 1852-53), Vol. 11, Appendix E, n.p.

10 The architectural books mentioned here, plus others too numerous to mention, were available through local booksellers, and in the recently built libraries. Libraries with extensive architectural holdings were part of the Law Society of Upper Canada; the legislative libraries of all of the colonies; the various mechanics' institutes and literary and historical societies, particularly the Halifax Mechanics' Institute, the Canadian Institute, Institut Canadien, and the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. The extensive holdings of the Bibliothèque du séminaire de Québec we have already noted.

11 Joseph Gwilt, Encyclopaedia, p. 787.

12 Nova Scotia. House of Assembly, "Report of the Schools of Nova Scotia for the Year 1852," in Sessional Papers, 1853 (Halifax: House of Assembly, 1853), Appendix 10, pp. 183-219.

13 J.G. Hodgins, The School House; its Architecture, External and Internal Arrangements (Toronto: Department of Public Instruction for Upper Canada, 1857).

14 Henry Barnard, School Architecture; or Contributions to the Improvement of School Houses in the United States (New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1850), 4th ed., pp. 296-97.

Public and Commercial Buildings

1 There had been an earlier plan drawn up a few years before for a Neoclassical legislative building for Quebec City. The design, by English architect James Wyatt, was a superb essay in the style, but alas was never built. Wyatt offered a Gothic version of the same building.

2 Alfred Hawkins, Hawkins's Picture of Quebec, with Historical Recollections (Quebec: Alfred Hawkins, 1834), pp. 266-78.

3 Alfred Hawkins, op. cit., p. 166.

4 John S. King, "The Building of McGill College: an Historical Account," term paper (Montreal: McGill University, June 1975) p. 20.

5 Lower Canada. House of Assembly, "Report of the Commissioners Superintending Erection of Wing on North West Side of the Building in which the Sittings of the Legislative are now held," in Sessional Papers, 1831-32 (Quebec: House of Assembly, 1832) (hereafter cited as Quebec House of Assembly), Vol. 41, Appendix P, n.p.

6 Lower Canada. House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1835, "Report of the Commissioners appointed to provide for the Erection of the New Hall of Assembly," Vol. 44, Appendix P, n.p.

7 PAC, RG5, C1, Vol. 484, pp. 6-7, "Proposal for the rebuilding of Osgoode Hall," Toronto, May, 1855.

8 Janet Wright, op.cit., n.p.

9 Christopher William Atkinson, Historical and Statistical Account of New Brunswick with Advice to Emigrants (Edinburgh: Anderson and Bryce, 1844), p. 29.

10 Susan Algie, "Reports on Selected Buildings in Ontario." Manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1979.

11 Metropolitan Toronto Library Board (hereafter MTLB). Howard Papers, L27 1384 Papers Pt. 3, 1838, John Howard, "Plans and Estimates. General Description for the Gore Bank," Toronto, 1838.

12 Alfred Hawkins, op.cit., p. 262.

13 Newton Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta: or, a New Picture of Montreal, embracing the Early History and Present State of the City and Island of Montreal (Montreal: R.W.S. MacKay, 1846) (hereafter cited as Hochelaga Depicta), p. 14.

14 Henry Barnard, op.cit.

Domestic Buildings

1 Joseph Gwilt, Rudiments, pp. 152-53.
2 Janet Wright, op.cit.
3 John Soane, Plans, Elevations and Sections of Buildings (London: Taylor, 1788), plate 36.
4 As Gauthier notes, the Quebec manor house of this period often took the form of a villa. Raymonde Gauthier, Les Manoirs du Québec (Quebec: Fides, 1976), p. 12.
5 Gideon M. Davison, The Fashionable Tour: A Guide to Travellers visiting the Middle and Northern States and the Province of Canada (Saratoga Springs, New York: Gideon M. Davison, 1830), 4th ed., p. 290.
6 Quebec and its Environs, being a Picturesque Guide to the Stranger (Quebec: Thomas Carey, 1831) (hereafter cited as Quebec and Environs), p. 13.

Religious Buildings

1 J.-F. Blondel, Cours d'architecture, ou traité de la décoration, distribution et construction des bâtiments, (Paris: Desaint, 1771-77), 6 vols.
2 For more on Neoclassicism and its effect on religious architecture in the Quebec City region, refer to Luc Noppen in the Bibliography.
3 Damie Stillman, "Church Architecture in Neo-Classical England," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. 38, No. 3 (May 1979), p. 103.
4 George W. Dolbey, The Architectural Expression of Methodism: The First 100 Years (London: Epworth Press, 1964), pp. 51-52.
5 John Soane, Designs for Public and Private Buildings (London: Priestley and Weale, 1828), plates 36 and 37.
6 That Holy Trinity in Quebec owes its architectural expression to the British Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Montreal was first pointed out by A.J.H. Richardson, "Guide to the Architecturally and Historically Most Significant Buildings in the Old City of Quebec," Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin, Vol. 2, Nos. 3 and 4 (1970), (hereafter cited as APT), pp. 47-48.
7 Lafever's and Nicholson's works illustrate several Greek Revival churches.
8 Jean L. Coverstone, "Church Architecture in Nova Scotia from 1750 to 1867" (M.A. thesis, Indiana: Notre Dame University, 1972), p. 75.

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2 C. Anne Hale, The Early Court Houses of Nova Scotia, Manuscript Report Series No. 293 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977); Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, South Shore: Seasoned Timbers (Halifax: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, 1974) (hereafter cited as Seasoned Timbers), Vol. 2, pp. 100-101.

28 Rodolphe Fournier, Lieux et monuments historiques de l'Ile de Montréal (St-Jean, Quebec: Les Editions du Richelieu, 1974) (hereafter cited as Lieux de Montréal), p. 135. N.P. Willis, Canadian Scenery Illustrated (London: Virtue, 1842; n.p.: S. Martin, 1967), Vol. 1, p. 112.

29 Citations from Alfred Hawkins, op. cit., p. 266; James S. Buckingham, op. cit., pp. 232-33; and Quebec and Environs, p. 38; Other sources: Louis Beaudet, "Québec: ses monuments anciens et modernes," Cahiers d'histoire 25 (Quebec: La Société historique de Québec, 1973), pp. 44-45; Joseph Bouchette, The British Dominions in North America (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1832), 2 vols. p. 173; George Bourne, The Picture of Quebec (Quebec; D. and J. Smillie, 1829); Rodolphe Fournier, Lieux et monuments historiques de Québec et environs (Quebec: Editions Galarneau, 1976) (hereafter cited as Lieux de Québec), p. 161. "Le Monument Wolfe et Montcalm à Québec," Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. 5 No. 10 (Oct. 1899), pp. 305-9; N.P. Willis, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 51-52.

30 Alfred Hawkins, op. cit., p. 166; (Sir) J. Macpherson Lemoine, Quebec Past and Present: a History of Quebec 1608-1876 (Quebec: James Macpherson Lemoine, 1876) (hereafter cited as Quebec Past and Present), pp. 357-58; R. Fournier, Lieux de Québec, p. 97; and L. Noppen, C. Paulette, M. Tremblay, Québec: trois siècles d'ar-chitecture (Montreal: Libre Expression, 1979), pp. 32-33; Louis Beaudet, op. cit., pp. 193-94.

31 Daily Telegraph (Saint John), 15 Jan. 1876; Anne Hale, The Early Court Houses of New Brunswick, Manuscript Report Series No. 290 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), pp. 81-108; New Brunswick Museum. Archives (hereafter cited as NBMA), Hazen Collection, Ward Chipman Papers, Correspondence, 1822-24, Shelf 38; NBMA, Scrapbook C67, "History of Saint John."

32 P. Galarneau, J. Hallé, D. Lapierre, Comptes rendus de certaines bâtiments dans la ville de Montréal (P.Q.) et dans les municipalités avoisinantes, Manuscript Report Series No. 300 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1978) (hereafter cited as Comptes rendus de Montréal), pp. 9-14.

33 James S. Buckingham, op. cit., p. 197; Le Canadien (Quebec), 14 May 1831, p. 3; Alfred Hawkins, op. cit., p. 253; Journal de Québec (Quebec), 11 April 1844, p. 2; Journal de Québec, 29 Aug. 1850, p. 2; Journal de Québec, 22 Oct. 1850, p. 2; Journal de Québec, 12 Feb. 1852, p. 3; Lower Canada. House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1831-32, Appendix P; Lower Canada. House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1832-33, Appendix C; Quebec House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1834, Appendix G; Lower Canada. House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1835, Appendix P.

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MG29, A8, Vol. 80, Fleming Papers, "Sketch of the Colborne District Courthouse," 1846.

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